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NEW SERIES.



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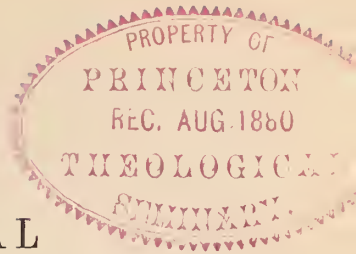
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ERRATA.

Page 318, line 14, *for* interpretantur, *read* interpretarentur.

„ 353, „ 17, „ Romanorum, „ universorum.

„ 375, note 4, „ سلاطين جهان „ سلطان سلاطين جهان



JOURNAL
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THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

ART. I.—*Bactrian Coins and Indian Dates.* By E. THOMAS,
Esq., F.R.S.

A SHORT time ago, a casual reference to the complicated Greek monograms stamped on the earlier Bactrian coins suggested to me an explanation of some of their less involved combinations by the test of simple Greek *letter* dates, which was followed by the curious discovery that the Bactrian kings were in the habit of recognizing and employing *curtailed* dates to the optional omission of the figure for *hundreds*, which seems to have been the immemorial custom in many parts of India. My chief authority for this conclusion was derived from a chance passage in Albírúni,¹ whose statement, however, has since been independently supported by the interpretation of an inscription of the ninth century A.D. from Kashmír,² which illustrates the provincial use of a cycle of *one hundred* years, and has now

¹ Albírúni, writing in India in 1031 A.D., tells us, "Le vulgaire, dans l'Inde, compte par siècles, et les siècles se placent l'un après l'autre. On appelle cela le Samvatsara du cent. Quand un cent est écoulé, on le laisse et l'on en commence un autre. On appelle cela Loka-kála, c'est-à-dire compt du peuple."—Reinaud's Translation, *Fragments Arabes*, Paris, 1845, p. 145.

² This second inscription ends with the words *Šaka Kálagatavdah 726*—that is, "Šaka Kála years elapsed 726," equivalent to A.D. 804, which is therefore the date of the temple. This date also corresponds with the year 80 of the local cycle, which is the *Loka-kála* of Kashmír or cycle of 2,700 years, counted by centuries named after the twenty-seven *nakshatras*, or lunar mansions. The reckoning, therefore, never goes beyond 100 years, and as each century begins in the 25th year of the Christian century, the 80th year of the local cycle is equivalent to the 4th year of the Christian century.—General A. Cunningham, *Archæological Report*, 1875, vol. v. p. 181.

been definitively confirmed by information obtained by Dr. Bühler¹ as to the origin of the Kashmīrī era and the corroboration of the practice of the omission of “*the hundreds in stating dates*” still prevailing in that conservative kingdom.²

Since Bayer’s premature attempt to interpret the mint-monogram HP , on a piece of Eucratides, as 108,³ Numismatists have not lost sight of the possible discrimination of dates as opposed to the preferential mint-marks so abundant on the surfaces of these issues, though the general impression has been adverse to the possibility of their fulfilling any such functions.⁴

¹ “Dr. Bühler has found out the key to the Kashmirean era: it begins in the year of the Kaliyug 25, or 3076 B.C., when the Saptarshis are said to have gone to heaven. The Kashmīr people often omit the hundreds in stating dates. Thus the year 24 (Kashmīr era) in which Kalhana wrote his Rājataranginī, and which corresponded with Śaka 1070, stands for 4,224.”—*Athenæum*, Nov. 20, 1875, p. 675.

² Since this was written, General Cunningham’s letter of the 30th March, 1876, has appeared in the *Athenæum* (April 29th, 1876), from the text of which I extract the following passages. These seem to establish the fact that the optional omission of the hundreds was a common and well-understood rule so early as about the age of Asoka. “The passage in which the figures occur runs as follows in the Sahasarām text:—

iyam cha savane vivuthena dutesa
pañnalāti satāvivuthati 252.

The corresponding passage in the Rūpnāth text is somewhat different:—

ahāle sava vivasetavāya ati vyathena
sāvane kaṭesu 52 satavivasāta.

The corresponding portion of the Bairāt text is lost. My reason for looking upon these figures as expressing a date is that they are preceded in the Rūpnāth text by the word kaṭesu, which I take to be the equivalent of the Sanskrit *krānteshu* = (so many years) ‘having elapsed.’”

I do not stop to follow General Cunningham’s arguments with regard to the value of the figures which he interprets as 252. The sign for 50, in its horizontal form, has hitherto been received as 80, but that the same symbol came, sooner or later, to represent 50, when placed perpendicularly, is sufficiently shown by Prof. Eggeking’s Plate, p. 52, in Vol. VIII. of our Journal. I should, however, take great exception to the rendering of the *unit* as 2, which, to judge by Mr. Bayley’s letter, in the same number of the *Athenæum*, Gen. Cunningham and Dr. Bühler had at first rightly concurred in reading as 6.

³ *Hist. Reg. Græcorum Bactriani*, St. Petersburg, 1738, p. 92: “Numus Eueratidis, quem postea copiosius explicabo, annum 108. habet, sine dubio epochæ Bactrianae, qui annus ex nostris rationibus A.V.C. 606. Septembri mense iniit. Igitur cum hoc in numo veteriæ ejus Indicæ celebratur, quibus ut Justinus ait, *Indiam in potestatem redegit.*” See also pp. 38, 56, 134.

⁴ H. H. Wilson, *Ariana Antiqua*, pp. 235, 238. General A. Cunningham, *Numismatic Chronicle*, vol. viii. o.s. p. 175; and vol. viii. n.s. 1868, p. 183; vol. ix. n.s. 1869, p. 230.

In 1858 I published, in my edition of "Prinsep's *Essays on Indian Antiquities*," a notice of the detached letters OT as occurring on a coin of Eucratides (No. 3, p. 184, vol. ii.), and III as found on the money of Heliocles (No. 1, p. 182), which letters, in their simple form, would severally represent the figures 73 and 83; but the difficulty obtruded itself that these numbers were too low to afford any satisfactory elucidation of the question involved in their application as dynastic dates.

Among the later acquisitions of Bactrian coins in the British Museum is a piece of Heliocles bearing the full trilateral date, after the manner of the Syrian mints, of $PIII$ or 183, which, when tested by the Seleucidan era (*i.e.* 311—183), brings his reign under the convenient date of B.C. 128, authorizing us to use the coincident *abbreviated* figures, under the same terms, as $OT=73$ for 173 of the Seleucidan era = B.C. 138 for Eucratides, and the repeated $III=83$ for 183 Seleucidan = B.C. 128, for Heliocles,¹ a date which is further supported by the appearance of the exceptionally combined *open* monogram $\overline{\Lambda}$ (IIA), or 81 for 181 = B.C. 130 on his other pieces.

The last fully-dated piece, in the Bactrian series, is the unique example of the money of Plato (bearing the figured letter date $PMZ=147$ of the Seleucidæ, or B.C. 165). We have two doubtful dates $\Xi=60$ and $\Xi E=65$, on the coins of Apollodotus; but if these letters were intended for dates, they will scarcely fit-in with the Seleucidan scheme. Menander dates his coins in *regnal* years. I can trace extant examples from 1 to 8. But this practice by no means necessitates the disuse of the Seleucidan era in ordinary reckonings, still less its abandonment in State documents where more formal precision was

¹ General Cunningham was cognizant of the date $III=83$ as found on the coins of Heliocles, which he associated with the year B.C. 164, under the assumption that he had detected the true initial date of the Bactrian era, which he had settled to his own satisfaction, "as beginning in B.C. 246."—Num. Chron. n.s. vol. viii. 1868, p. 266; n.s. vol. ix. 1869, pp. 35, 230. See also Mr. Vaux's note, N.C. 1875, vol. xv. p. 3.

required. Subjoined is a rough facsimile and technical description of the coin of Plato.¹

Silver. Size 1·2. Wt. 258 grains.



Obv. Head of king to the right, with helmet ornamented with the peculiar ear and horn of a bull, so marked on the coins of Eucratides.

Rev. Apollo driving the horses of the Sun. Monogram No. 46a, Prinsep's Essays.

Legend. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΕΠΙΦΑΝΟΥΣ ΠΛΑΤΩΝΟΣ.

Date at foot, PMZ=147 Selucidæ (or B.C. 165).

My first impression on noticing the near identity of the obverse head with the standard Numismatic portraits of Eucratides, and the coincidence of the date with that assumed, by our latest authority,² as the year of the decease of that monarch, was that Plato must have succeeded him; but the advanced interpretation of the dates, above given, puts any such assignment altogether out of court, and necessitates a critical reconstruction of all previous speculative epochal or serial lists of the Bactrian succession.

In the present instance the adoption of the helmet of the Chabylans³ by Eucratides and Plato may merely imply that

¹ The woodcut here given was prepared for Mr. Vaux's original article on this unique coin of Plato, in the Numismatic Chronicle, vol. xv. p. 1.

² Gen. Cunningham, N.C. vol. viii. o.s. 1843, p. 175, and vol. ix. n.s. 1869, p. 175.

³ "The Chabylans had small shields made of raw hides, and each had two javelins used for hunting wolves. Brazen helmets protected their heads, and above these they wore the ears and horns of an ox fashioned in brass. They had also crests on their helms."—Herodotus vii. 76; Rawlinson, vol. iv. p. 72; Xenophon Anab. v.

they both claimed kindred with that tribe, or at some time held command in their national contingent—and Plato may, with equal possibility, have introduced the device, in the first instance, as have copied the more abundant obverses of similar character from the coins of Eucratides. On the other hand, the identity of the helmet may indicate an absolute borrowing of a ready prepared device. The singular and eccentric combination of Bactrian Mint dies has from the first constituted a difficulty and a danger to modern interpreters. I have for long past looked suspiciously upon the too facile adaptations of otherwise conscientious mint masters, leading them to utilize, for reasons of their own, the available die-devices in stock for purposes foreign to the original intent under which they were executed. However, in the present instance, the imperfect preservation of the single coin of Plato available does not permit of our pronouncing with any certainty upon the identity of the features with those of the profile of Eucratides.

To revert to our leading subject. In addition to the value of the data quoted above as fixing definitively, though within fairly anticipated limits, the epochs of three prominent Bactrian kings, their conventional use of the system of abbreviated definitions points, directly, to the assimilation of local customs, to which the Greeks so readily lent themselves, in adopting the method of reckoning by the Indian *Loka Kāla*, which simplified the expression of dates, even as we do now, in the civilized year of our Lord, when we write 76 for 1876.

The extension of the Seleucidan era eastwards, and its amalgamation of Indian methods of definition within its own mechanism, leads further to the consideration of how long this exotic era maintained its ground in Upper India, and how much influence it exerted upon the chronological records of succeeding dynasties. I have always been under the impression that this influence was more wide-spread and abiding than my fellow-antiquaries have been ready to admit,¹ but

¹ Journal Royal Asiatic Society, Vol. XII. p. 41; Journal Asiatic Society Bengal, 1855, p. 565, and 1872, p. 175; Prinsep's Essays, vol. ii. p. 86; Journal Asiatique, 1863, p. 388.

I am now prepared to carry my inferences into broader channels, and to suggest that the Indo-Scythian "Kanishka" group of kings continued to use the Seleucidan era, even as they retained the minor sub-divisions of the Greek months, which formed an essential part of its system: and under this view to propose that we should treat the entire circle of dates of the "Hushka, Jushka, and Kanishka" *family*, mentioned in the Rája Taranginí, which their inscriptions expand from ix. to xeviii., as pertaining to the fourth century of the Seleucidan era, an arrangement which will bring them into concert with our Christian reckoning from 2 B.C. to 87 A.D. A scheme which would, moreover, provide for their full possession of power up to the *crucial* "Saka" date of 78-79 A.D., and allow for the subsequent continuance of a considerable breadth of sway outside the limited geographical range of Indian cognizance.

There are further considerations which add weight to the conclusion that the Kanerki Scythians adopted, for public purposes, the Seleucidan era; they may be supposed, like the Parthians and other Nomads, to have achieved but scant culture till conquest made them masters of civilized sections of the earth.

In the present instance, these new invaders are seen to have ignored or rejected the Semitic-Bactrian writing employed by the Kadphises horde in parallel concert with the traditional monumental Greek, and to have relied exclusively on the Greek language in their official records¹ till the later domestication of some of the members of the family, at Mathurá, led to an exceptional use of the Devanágari alphabet, in subordination to the dominant Greek, on the coins of Vásudeva. In no case do we find them recognizing the Semitic type of character, though the inscriptions quoted

¹ Prof. Wilson's Plates, in his *Ariana Antiqua*, arranged 35 years ago, and altogether independently of the present argument, will suffice to place this contrast before the reader. The Kadphises group extend from figs. 5 to 21 of plate x. All these coins are *bilingual*, Greek and Semitic-Bactrian. The Kanerki series commence with No. 15, plate xi., having nothing but Greek legends, either on the obverse or on the reverse, and follow on continuously through plates xii. xiii. and xiv. down to fig. 11. After that, the Greek characters become more or less chaotic, till we reach No. 19.

below will show how largely that alphabet had spread in some portions of their dominion. But beyond this, their adherence, or perhaps that of their successors, to Greek, continues mechanically till its characters merge into utter incoherence on the later mintages.¹ All of these indications lead to the inference that, as far as the Court influences were concerned, the tendency to rely upon Greek speech would have carried with it what remained *in situ* of the manners and customs of their Western instructors.²

There are two groups or varieties of Indo-Scythian Inscriptions of the Kanishka family. The one in the Indian *proper* or Láṭ alphabet, all of which are located at Mathurá. The published Mathurá inscriptions of this group (excluding the two quotations placed within brackets) number 20 in all; as a rule they are merely records of votive offerings on the part of "pious founders," and contain only casual references to the ruling powers. Twelve of these make no mention of any monarch, though they are clearly contemporaneous with the other dedicatory inscriptions. Throughout the whole

¹ Ariana Antiqua, pl. xiv. Nos. 12, 13, 14, 16, 17.

² The circumstances bearing upon the battle of Karór (or كدور) are of so much importance in the history of this epoch, that I reproduce Albirúni's account of that event: "On emploie ordinairement les ères de Sri-Harcha, de Vikramá-ditya, de Śaka, de Ballaba, et des Gouptas. . . . L'ère de Vikramá-ditya est employée dans les provinces méridionales et occidentales de l'Inde. . . . L'ère de Śaka, nommée par les Indiens 'Śaka-kála,' est postérieure à celle de Vikramá-ditya de 135 ans. Śaka est le nom d'un prince qui a régné sur les contrées situées entre l'Indus et la mer. Sa résidence était placée au centre de l'empire, dans la contrée nommée Aryavārtha. Les Indiens le font naître dans une classe autre que celle des Sakya; quelques-uns prétendent qu'il était Soudra et originaire de la ville de Mansoura; il y en a même qui disent qu'il n'était pas de race indienne, et qu'il tirait son origine des régions occidentales. Les peuples eurent beaucoup à souffrir de son despotisme, jusqu'à ce qu'il leur vint du secours de l'Orient. Vikramá-ditya marcha contre lui, mit son armée en déroute, et le tua sur le territoire de Korour, situé entre Moultan et le château de Louny. Cette époque devint célèbre, à cause de la joie que les peuples ressentirent de la mort de Śaka, et on la choisit pour ère principalement chez les astronomes."—Reinaud's translation.

General Cunningham has attempted to identify the site of Karór with a position "50 miles S.E. of Multán and 20 miles N.E. of Baháwalpúr," making the "castle of Loni" into "Ludhan, an ancient town situated near the old bed of the Sutlej river, 44 miles E.N.E. of Kahrór and 70 miles E.S.E. of Multán."—*Ancient Geography of India* (Trübner, 1871), p. 241. These assignments, are, however, seriously shaken by the fact that Albirúni himself invariably places these two sites far north of Multán, *i.e.* according to his latitudes and longitudes, *Multán* is 91°—29' 30" N., while *Kadór*, as he writes it, is 92°—31' N., and *Loni* (variant *Loi*) is 32° N.—Sprenger's Maps, No. 12, etc.

series of twenty records the dates are confined to numbers below *one hundred*: they approach and nearly touch the end of a given century, in the 90 and 98; but do not reach or surpass the crucial *hundred* discarded in the local cycle.

The two inscriptions, Nos. 22, 23, from the same locality, dated, severally, Samvat 135 with the Indian month of Paushya, and Samvat 281, clearly belong to a different age, and vary from their associates in dedicatory phraseology, forms of letters, and many minor characteristics, which General Cunningham readily discriminated.¹

INDO-SCYTHIAN INSCRIPTIONS.

In the Indo-Pāli Alphabet.

At Mathura,	{	KANISHKA.	<i>Mahārāja Kanishka. Samvat 9.</i> [<i>Kanishka. Samvat 28.</i>] [<i>Hwishka. Samvat 33.</i>] ²
		HUVISHKA.	<i>Mahārāja DEVAPUTRA Hwishka. Hemanta, S. 39.</i> <i>Mahārāja RĀJATIRĀJA DEVAPUTRA Hwishka. Grishma,</i> <i>S. 47.</i> ³
		VĀSUDEVA.	<i>Mahārāja Hwishka. Hemanta, S. 48.</i> <i>Mahārāja Rājātīrāja DEVAPUTRA Vāsu(deva). Varsha, S. 44.</i> <i>Mahārāja Vāsudeva. Grishma, S. 83.</i> <i>Mahārāja Rājātīrāja, SHĀHI, Vāsudeva. Hemanta, S. 87.</i> <i>Rāja Vāsudeva. Varsha, S. 98.</i> ⁴

¹ Arch. Rep. vol. iii. p. 38.

² These two dates are quoted from Gen. Cunningham's letter to the *Athenæum* of 29 April, 1876, as having been lately discovered by Mr. Growse, B.C.S.

³ The 47th year of the Monastery of Huvishka.

⁴ I was at first disposed to infer that the use of the Indian months in their full development indicated a period subsequent to the employment of the primitive three seasons, but I find from the Western Inscriptions, lately published by Prof. Bhandarkar, that they were clearly in contemporaneous acceptance. While a passage in Hiouen Tsiang suggests that the retention of the normal terms was in a measure typical of Buddhist belief, and so that, in another sense, *the months* had a confessed conventional significance.

“Suivant la sainte doctrine de Jou-laï (du Tathágata), une année se compose de trois saisons. Depuis le 16 du premier mois, jusqu'au 15 du cinquième mois, c'est la saison chaude. Depuis le 16 du cinquième mois, jusqu'au 15 du neuvième mois, c'est la saison pluvieuse (Varchás). Depuis le 16 de neuvième mois, jusqu'au 15 du premier mois, c'est la saison froide. Quelquefois on divise l'année en quatre saisons, savoir: le printemps, l'été, l'automne et l'hiver.”—Hiouen Tsiang, vol. ii. p. 63. The division into three seasons is distinctly *not* - *Vedic*.—Muir, vol. i. p. 13; Elliot, Glossary, vol. ii. p. 47.

“There are two summers in the year and two harvests, while the winter intervenes between them.”—Pliny vi. 21; Diod. Sic. I. c. i.

The parallel series are more scattered, and crop up in less direct consecutive association, these are indorsed in the *Bactrian* or *Aryan* adaptation of the Ancient Phœnician alphabet.

INDO-SCYTHIAN INSCRIPTIONS.

In the Bactrian-Pāli Alphabet.

- Bahāwalpūr. *Maharaja Rajadiraja* DEVAPUTRA *Kanishka*.
 Samvat 11, on the 28th of the (Greek) month of Dæsius.
- Manikyāla Tope. *Maharaja Kaneshka*, GUSHANA *vaṣa samvardhaka*.
 "Increaser of the dominion of the Gushans" (Kushans).
 Samvat 18.
- Wardak Vase. *Maharaja rajatiraja Huveshka*. Samvat 51, 15th of Artemisius.¹

¹ Besides these inscriptions, there is a record of the name of Kanishka designated as *Raja Gandharya*, on "a rough block of quartz," from Zeda, near Ohind, now in the Láhore Museum. This legend is embodied in very small Bactrian letters, and is preceded by a single line in large characters, which reads as follows: *San 10 + 1 (=11) Ashadasa masasa di 20, Udeyana gu. 1. Isachhu nami.*" I do not quote or definitively adopt this date, as the two inscriptions appear to me to be of different periods, and vary in a marked degree in the forms as well as in the size of their letters.—Lowenthal, J.A.S.B. 1863, p. 5; Gen. Cunningham, Arch. Report, vol. v. p. 57.

In addition to the above Bactrian Pāli Inscriptions, we have a record from Taxila, by the "Satrap Liako Kusuluko," in "the 78th year of the great king, the Great Moga, on the 5th day of the month Panæmus" (J.R.A.S. xx. o.s. p. 227; J.A.S.B. 1862, p. 40). And an inscription from Takht-i-Bahi of the Indo-Parthian king Goudophares, well known to us from his coins (Ariaua Antiqua, p. 340, Prinsep's Essays, vol. ii. p. 214), and doubtfully associated with the *Gondoferus* of the *Legenda Aurea*, to the following tenor: "*Maharayasa Gudupharasa Vasha 20 + 4 + 2 (=26) San . . . Satimae 100 + 3 (=103) Vesakhasa masasa divase 4.*" (Cunningham, Arch. Rep. vol. v. p. 59.) And to complete the series of regal quotations, I add the heading of the inscription from Panjtar of a king of the Kushans: "*San 100 + 20 + 2 (=122) Sravanasa masasa di prathame 1, Maha rayasa Gushanasa Ra. . .*" (Professor Dowson, J.R.A.S. Vol. XX. o.s. p. 223; Cunningham, Arch. Rep. vol. v. p. 61.)

This is an inscription which, in the exceptional character of its framework, suggests and even necessitates reconstructive interpretations. The stone upon which it is engrossed was obviously fissured and imperfectly prepared for its purpose in the first instance; so that, in the opening line, Gondophares' name has to be taken over a broken gap with space for two letters, which divides the *d* from the *ph*. The surface of the stone has likewise suffered from abrasion of some kind or other, so that material letters have in certain cases been reduced to mere shadowy outlines. But enough remains intact to establish the name of the Indo-Parthian King, and to exhibit a double record of dates, giving his regnal year and the counterpart in an era the determination of which is of the highest possible importance. The *vasha* or year of the king, expressed in figures alone, as 26, is not contested. The *figured* date of the leading era presents no difficulty whatever to those who are conversant with Phœnician notation, or who may hereafter choose to consult the ancient coins of Aradus. The symbol for *hundreds*

⋈ is incontestable. The preliminary stroke 1, to the right of the sign, in

The above collection of names and dates covers, in the latter sense, a period of from An. 9 to An. 98, or eighty-nine years in all. The names, as I interpret them, apply to two individuals, only, out of the triple brotherhood mentioned in the *Rāja Tarangini*. After enumerating the reigns of (1) Āṣoka, (2) Jaloka, and (3) Dámodhara, Professor Wilson's translation of that chronicle continues:—

“Dámodhara was succeeded by three princes who divided the country, and severally founded capital cities named after themselves. These princes were called Hushka, Jushka, and Kanishka,¹ of Turushka or Tatar extraction. . . . They are considered synchronous, but may possibly be all that are preserved of some series of Tatar princes who, it is very likely, at various periods, established themselves in Kashmír.”² I

the Western system, marks the simple number of *hundreds*; in India an additional prolongation duplicates the value of the normal symbol. Under these terms the adoptive Bactrian figures are positive as 103. Before the *figured* date there is to be found, *in letters*, the word *śatimae* “in one hundred” or “hundredth,” in the reading of which all concur. It is possible that the exceptional use of the figure for 100, which has not previously been met with, may have led to its definition and repetition *in writing* in the body of the inscription, in order that future interpreters should feel no hesitation about the value of the exotic symbol. There was not the same necessity for repeating the 3, the three fingers of which must always have been obvious to the meanest capacity. I have no difficulty about the existence and free currency of the Vikramáditya era *per se* in its own proper time, which some archæologists are inclined to regard as of later adaptation. But I am unable to concur in the reading of *Samvatsara*, or to admit, if such should prove the correct interpretation, that the word *Samvatsara* involved or necessitated a preferential association with the Vikramáditya era, any more than the *Samvatsara* (J.R.A.S., Vol. IV. p. 500) and *Samvatsaraye* (*ibid.* p. 222), or the abbreviated *San* or *Sam*, which is so constant in these Bactrian Pali Inscriptions, and so frequent on Indo-Parthian coins (Prinsep's Essays, vol. ii. p. 205, Coins of Azas, Nos. 1, 2, 6, 7, 12; Azilisas, Nos. 1, etc.; Gondophares, p. 215, No. 4.

¹ Abulfazl says “brothers.” Gladwin's Translation, vol. ii. p. 171; Calcutta Text, p. 574. *دشک - زشک - کنشک هر سه برادر آئین بوده داشتند*.

General Cunningham considers that he has succeeded in identifying all the three capitals, the sites of which are placed within the limits of the valley of Kashmír, *i.e.*,

“*Kanishka-pura* (Kanikhpur) *hod. Kámpur*, is ten miles south of Sirinagar, known as Kámpur Sarai.

“*Hushka-pura*, the Hu-se-kia-lo of Hiuen Tshang—the Ushkar of Albírúni—now surviving in the village of *Uskara*, two miles south-east of Baráhmula.

“*Jushka-pura* is identified by the Brahmans with Zukru or Zukur, a considerable village four miles north of the capital, the *Schecroh* of Troyer and Wilson.”—Ancient Geography of India (London, 1871), p. 99.

² Prof. H. H. Wilson, “An Essay on the Hindu History of Kashmír,” Asiatic Researches, vol. xv. p. 23; and Troyer's *Histoire des Rois du Kachmir* (Paris, 1840–52), vol. i. p. 19. See also Hiouen-Tshang (Paris, 1858), vol. ii. pp. 42, 106, etc.

assume *Vásu Deva* (Krishṇa's title) to have been the titular designation of Kanishka,¹ while *Devaputra* was common to both brothers, and the *Sháhi*² was perhaps optional, or devoted to the senior in the joint brotherhood³ or head of the more extensive tribal community of the Kanerki.

The Mathurá inscriptions, as we have seen, distinguish the subdivisions of the year by the old triple seasons of *Grishma*, *Varsha*, and *Hemanta*, while the Bactrian Páli inscriptions ordinarily define the months by their Macedonian designations;⁴ the question thus arises as to whether this latter

¹ Coin of Vásu Deva struck in his Eastern dominions. *Trésor de Numismatique*. Gold. Pl. lxxx., figs. 10, 11.

Obverse.—Scythian figure, standing to the front, casting incense into the typical small Mithraic altar. To the right, a trident with flowing pennons: to the left, a standard with streamers.

Legend, around the main device, in obscure Greek, the vague reproduction of the conventional titles of PAO NANO PAO KOPANO.

Below the left arm $\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{व } Va \\ \text{सु } su \end{array} \right\} = \text{VASU}$, in the exact style of character found in his Mathurá Inscriptions.

Reverse.—The Indian Goddess Párvatí seated on an open chair or imitation of a Greek throne, extending in her right hand the classic regal fillet; Mithraic monogram to the left.

Legend, APΔOXPO, Ard-Ugra = "half Śiva," *i.e.* Párvatí.

Those who wish to examine nearly exact counterparts of these types in English publications may consult the coins engraved in plate xiv., *Ariana Antiqua*, figs. 19, 20. The latter seems to have an imperfect rendering of the $\text{व } va$ on the obverse, with $\text{सु } su$ (formed like *pu*) on the reverse. [For corresponding types see also Journ. As. Soc. Beng. vol. v. pl. 36, and Prinsep's *Essays*, pl. 4. General Cunningham, *Numismatic Chronicle*, vol. vi. o.s. pl. i. fig. 2.] The *u* is not curved, but formed by a mere elongation of the downstroke of the $\text{स } s$, which in itself constitutes the vowel. The omission of the consecutive *Deva* on the coins is of no more import than the parallel rejection of the *Gupta*, where the king's name is written *downwards*, Chinese fashion, in the confined space below the arm. See also General Cunningham's remarks on Vásudeva, *J.R.A.S.* Vol. V. pp. 193, 195. Gen. Cunningham proposes to amend Prof. Wilson's tentative reading of Baraono on the two gold coins, *Ariana Antiqua*, pl. xiv. figs. 14, 18 (p. 378), into PAO NANO PAO BAZOΔHO KOPANO. The engraving of No. 14 certainly suggests an initial B in the name, and the AZ and O are sufficiently clear. We have only to angularize the succeeding O into Δ to complete the identification. These coins have a reverse of Śiva and the Bull.—*Arch. Rep.* vol. iii. p. 42. Dr. Kern does not seem to have been aware of these identifications when he proposed, in 1873 (*Révue Critique*, 1874, p. 291), to associate the Mathurá Vásudeva with the Indo-Sassanian *Pehlvi* coin figured in Prinsep, pl. vii. fig. 6. *Journ. Roy. Asiatic Soc.* Vol. XII. pl. 3; *Ariana Antiqua*, pl. xvii. fig. 9.

² The full *Devaputra Shahán Sháhi* occurs in the Samundra Gupta inscription on the Allahábád Lát. It may possibly refer to some of the extra Indian successors of these Indo-Scythians.

³ Troyer translates paragraph 171, "Pendant le long règne de ces rois," vol. i. p. 19.

⁴ "The Macedonian months, which were adopted by the Syro-Macedonian

practice does not imply a continued use of the Seleucidan era, in association with which the names of these months must first have reached India?¹ and which must have been altogether out of place in any indigenous scheme of reckoning. Tested by this system, the years 9–98 of the fourth century of the Seleucidan era (B.C. 311–12) produce, as I have elsewhere remarked, the singularly suitable return of B.C. 2 to A.D. 87. And a similar process applied to the third century of the newly-discovered Parthian era (B.C. 248)² would represent B.C. 39 and A.D. 50. But this last method of computation seems to have secured a mere local and exceptional currency, and the probabilities of its extension to India are as zero compared with the wide-spread and enduring date³ of the Seleucidæ, which the Parthians themselves continued to use on their coinage in conjunction with the old

cities, and generally by the Greek cities of Asia, after the time of Alexander, were *lunar* till the reformation of the Roman calendar of *Cæsar* (by inserting 67+23 = 90 days in this year). After that reformation the Greek cities of Asia, which had then become subject to the Roman Empire, gradually adopted the Julian year. But although they followed the Romans in computing by the solar Julian year of 365d. 6h. instead of the lunar, yet they made no alteration in the season at which their year began ($\Delta\text{ΙΟ}\Sigma = \text{Oct. Nov.}$), or in the order of the months." —Clinton, *Fast. Hell.* vol. iii. pp. 202, 347.

¹ Some importance will be seen to have attached to the use of the contrasted terms for national months in olden time, as we find Letronne observing: "Dans tous les exemples de doubles ou triples dates que nous offrent les inscriptions rédigées en Grèce, le mois qui est énoncé le premier est toujours celui dont fait usage la nation à laquelle appartient celui qui parle." —Letronne, *Inscriptions de l'Égypte* (Paris, 1852), p. 263.

² *Assyrian Discoveries*, by George Smith, London, 1875, p. 389. From the time of the Parthian conquest it appears that the tablets were dated according to the Parthian style. There has always been a doubt as to the date of this revolt, and consequently of the Parthian monarchy, as the classical authorities have left no evidence as to the exact date of the rise of the Parthian power. I, however, obtained three Parthian tablets from Babylon; two of them contained double dates, one of which, being found perfect, supplied the required evidence, as it was dated according to the Seleucidan era, and according also to the Parthian era, the 144th year of the Parthians being equal to the 208th year of the Seleucidæ, thus making the Parthian era to have commenced B.C. 248. This date is written: "Month 23rd day 144th year, which is called the 208th year, Arsaces, King of kings."

Clinton, following Justin and Ensebius, etc., 250 B.C., *Fasti Romani*, vol. ii. p. 243, and *Fasti Hellenici*, vol. iii. p. 311; Moses Chorenensis, 251 or 252 B.C.; Suidas, 246 B.C.

³ "Antiochus, surnamed Epiphanes, son of Antiochus the king, . . . reigned in the 137th year of the kingdom of the Greeks." —Maccabees I. i. 10 —ii. 70, et. seq. "In the 143rd year of the kingdom of the Seleucidæ." —Josephus, *Ant.* xii. 3. "It came to pass . . . in the 145th year on the 25th of that month which is by us called *Chasleu*, and by the Macedonians *Apellous*,

Macedonian *months*,¹ whose importance in their bearing upon the leading era I have enlarged upon in the parallel Indo-Scythic instance immediately under review. So that, as at present advised, I hold to a preference for the Seleucidan test, which places the Indo-Scythians in so satisfactory a position both relatively to their predecessors and successors. I have at the same time no reserve in acknowledging the many difficulties surrounding the leading question; but if we can but get a second "pied à terre," a fixed date-point, after the classical testimony to the epoch of the great Chandra Gupta, we may check the doubts and difficulties surrounding many generations both before and after any established date that we may chance to elicit from the present and more mature inquiries.

The comparative estimates by the three methods of computation immediately available stand roughly as follows:—

Seleucidan . [1st Sept., 312 B.C.] B.C. 2 to A.D. 87.

Vikramáditya . . [57 B.C.²] . . B.C. 48 to A.D. 41.

Şaka . . [14th March, 78 A.D.³] A.D. 88 to A.D. 177.

Before taking leave of the general subject of Indian methods of defining dates, I wish to point out how much the conventional practice of the suppression of the *hundreds* must have impaired the ordinary continuity of record and

in the 153rd Olympiad, etc."—xii. 4. "Seleucus cognominatus *Nicator* regnum Babelis, totiusque Eraki, et Chorasanae, Indiam usque, Ab initio imperii ipsius orditur æra, quæ Alexandri audit, ea nempe qua tempora computant Syri et Hebræi."—Bar-Hebræus, Poccoke, p. 63.

"The Jews still style it the *Æra of Contracts*, because they were obliged, when subject to the Syro-Macedonian princes, to express it in all their contracts and civil writings."—Gough's *Seleucidæ*, p. 3.

The Syriac text of the inscription at Singanfu is dated "in 1093d year of the Greeks" (A.D. 782).—A. Kircher, *La Chine*, p. 43; Yule, *Marco Polo*, vol. ii. p. 22; see also Mure's *History of Greece*, vol. iv. pp. 74-79.

¹ The dates begin to appear on the Syro-Macedonian coins under Seleucus IV., Trésor de Numismatique, sAP = 136; Mionnet, vol. v. p. 30, PAZ = 137. Cleopatra and Antiochus VIII. also date their coins in the Seleucidan era. See Mionnet, vol. v. pp. 86, 87.

The Parthian coin dates commence with A.S. ΠΣ = 280 (B.C. 31), APTE, *Artemisius*, and continue to A.S. 539, Trés. de Num. Rois Grecs, pp. 143-147; Lindsay, *Coinage of the Parthians* (Cork, 1852), pp. 175-179.

² Luni-solar year. ³ Solar or Sidereal year. Prinsep, *Useful Tables*, pp. 153-7

affected the resulting value of many of the fragmentary data that have been preserved to our time.

The existence of such a system of disregarding or blotting-out of centuries—persevered in for ages—must naturally have led to endless uncertainties among subsequent home or foreign inquirers, whose errors and misunderstandings were occasionally superadded to the normal imperfections of their leading authorities. Something of this kind may be detected in the illustrative works both of Hiuen Tshang and Albírúni, wherever the quotation refers to hundreds in the gross. Apart from the improbabilities of events adapting themselves to *even numbers in hundreds*, it is clear that, where hundreds alone are given, the date itself must be looked upon as more or less vague and conjectural, elicited, in short, out of uncertain and undefined numbers, and alike incapable of correction from minor totals; such a test must now be applied to Hiuen Tshang's oft-quoted open number of 400 as marking the interval between Buddha and Kanishka.¹

So also one of Albírúni's less-consistently worked-out dates is liable to parallel objection, such, for instance, as the *even* "400 before Vikramáditya," which constitutes his era of "Şrí Harsha," and which he is frank enough to confess *may* perchance pertain to the other Şrí Harsha of 664 after Vikramáditya (or $57 + 664 = 607 - 8$ A.D.). His clear 400 of the era of Yazdegird is, however, a veritable conjuncture, a singular and unforced combination of independent epochs,²

¹ "Dans les quatre cents ans qui suivront mon *Nirvána*, il y aura un roi qui s'illustrera dans le monde sous le nom de Kia-ni-se-kia (Kanishka)."—Mémoires sur les Contrées occidentales (Paris, 1857), i. p. 106. "Dans la 400^e année après le Nirvána" (p. 172). This 400 is the sum given in the Lalita Vistára, but the Mongol authorities have 300. Foe-koue Ki, chapter xxv., and Burnouf's Intr. Hist. Bud., vol. i. p. 568, "trois cent ans," p. 579, "un peu plus de quatre cent ans après Çakya, au temps de Kanishka." Hiuen Tshang confines himself to obscure hundreds in other places. "Dans la centième année après le Nirvána de Jou-laï, Açoka, roi de Magadha," p. 170. "La six centième année après le Nirvána," p. 179. Nágárjuna is equally dated 400 years after Buddha. "Nágárjuna is generally supposed to have flourished 400 years after the death of Buddha."—As. Res. vol. xx. pp. 400, 513. Csoma de Koros, Analysis of the Gyut. See also As. Res. vol. ix. p. 83; xv. p. 115; and Burnouf, vol. i. p. 447, and J.A.S.B. vol. vii. p. 143. M. Foucaux, in his Tibetan version of the Lalita Vistára, speaks of Nágárjuna as flourishing "cent ans après le mort de Çakya Mouni, p. 392, note.

² Rénaud, *loc. cit.* pp. 137, 139. Albírúni here rejoices, that "cette époque s'exprime par un nombre rond et n'est embarrassée ni de dizaines ni d'unités," which seems to show how rarely, in his large experience, such a phenomenon had been met with.

approximately marked by the date of the death of Mahmúd of Ghazní,¹ in an era that had not yet been superseded in the East by the Muhammadan Hijrah.

I conclude this paper with a reproduction of the unique coin of the Śaka King Heraüs, which, on more mature examination, has been found to throw unexpected light on the chief seat of Śaka-Scythian power,² and to supply incidentally an approximate date, which may prove of considerable value in elucidating the contemporaneous history of the border lands of India.

I have recently had occasion to investigate the probable age of this piece by a comparison of its reverse device with the leading types of the Imperial Parthian mintages, with which it has much in common, and the deduction I arrived at, from the purely Numismatic aspect of the evidence, was

¹ The era of Yazdegird commenced 16th June, 632 A.D. The date on Mahmúd's tomb is 23rd Rabí' the second, A.H. 421 (30th April, A.D. 1030).

² Albirúni was naturally perplexed with the identities of Vikramáditya and Sáliváhana, and unable to reconcile the similarity of the acts attributed alike to one and the other. He concludes the passage quoted in note 2, p. 7, in the following terms:—"D'un autre côté, Vikramáditya, reçut le titre de Śrī (grand) à cause de l'honneur qu'il s'était acquis. Du reste, l'intervalle qui s'est écoulé entre l'ère de Vikramáditya et la mort de Saka, prouve que le vainqueur n'était pas le célèbre Vikramáditya, mais un autre prince du même nom."—Reinaud, p. 142.

Major Wilford, in like manner, while discussing the individualities of his "8 or 9 Vikramádityas," admitted that "the two periods of Vikramáditya and Sáliváhana are intimately connected, and the accounts we have of these two extraordinary personages are much confused, teeming with contradictions and absurdities to a surprising degree."—As. Res., vol. ix. p. 117; see also vol. x. p. 93.

A passage lately brought to notice by Dr. Bühler throws new light upon this question, for, in addition to supplying chronological data of much importance in regard to the interval of 470 years which is said to have elapsed between the great *Jaina Mahāvira* (the 24th *Tirthankara*) and the first *Vikramáditya* of B.C. 57, it teaches us that there were Śaka kings holding sway in India in B.C. 61-57, which indirectly confirms the epoch of the family of Heraüs, and explains how both Vikramádityas, at intervals of 135 years, came to have Śaka enemies to encounter, and consequently equal claims to titular *Śakári* honours.

"1. Pálaka, the lord of Avanti, was anointed in that night in which the Arhat and Tirthankara Mahāvira entered Nirvāṇa. 2. 60 are (the years of King Pálaka, but 155 are (the years) of the Nandas; 108 those of the Mauryas, and 30 those of *Pusamitta* (Pushyamitra). 3. 60 (years) ruled Balamitra and Bhánumitra, 40 Nabhovahana. 13 years likewise (lasted) the rule of Gardabhilla, and 4 are (the years) of Śaka."—From the Prakrit Gāthás of Merutunga, etc.

"These verses, which are quoted in a very large number of Jaina commentaries and chronological works, but the origin of which is not clear, give the adjustment between the eras of Vira and Vikrama, and form the basis of the earlier Jaina chronology."—Dr. Bühler, *Indian Antiquary*, vol. ii. p. 363.

that, recognizing the imitative adoption of certain details of the main devices of the suzerain rulers, and supposing such adoption to have been immediate and contemporaneous, the dates B.C. 37 to A.D. 4 would "mark the age of Heraüs."¹ This epoch singularly accords with the date of Isidore of Charax,² from whose text of the 'Stathmi Parthici' we likewise gather that the recognized seat of the Śaka-Scythians, then feudatories of the Parthian Empire, was located in the valley of the Helmund,³ and was known by the optional

¹ Records of the Gupta Dynasty (Trübner, 1876), p. 37.

"It is in regard to the typical details, however, that the contrast between the pieces of Manas and Heraüs is most apparent. Manas has no coins with his own bust among the infinite variety of his mint devices, nor has Azas, who imitates so many of his emblems. But, in the Gondophares group, we meet again with busts and uncovered heads, the hair being simply bound by a fillet, in which arrangement of the head-dress Pakores, with his bushy curls, follows suit. But the crucial typical test is furnished by the small figure of victory crowning the horseman on the reverse, which is so special a characteristic of the Parthian die illustration.

"We have frequent examples of Angels or types of victory extending regal fillets in the Bactrian series, but these figures constitute as a rule the main device of the reverse, and are not subordinated into a corner, as in the Parthian system. The first appearance of the fillet in direct connexion with the king's head in the Imperial series, occurs on the coins of Arsaces XIV., *Orodes* (B.C. 54-37), where the crown is borne by an eagle (Lindsay, *History of the Parthians*, Cork, 1852, pl. iii. fig. 2, pp. 146-170: *Tresor de Numismatique*, pl. lxviii. fig. 17); but on the reverses of the copper coinage this duty is already confided to the winged figure of Victory (Lindsay, pl. v. fig. 2, p. 181). Arsaces XV., Phrahates IV. (37 B.C.-4 A.D.), continues the eagles for a time, but progresses into single (*Ibid.*, pl. iii. fig. 60; v. fig. 4, pp. 148, 170: *Tresor de Numismatique*, pl. lxviii. fig. 18; pl. lxix. fig. 5), and finally into double figures of Victory eager to crown him (*Ibid.*, pl. iii. figs. 61-63), as indicating his successes against Antony and the annexation of the kingdom of Media (Lindsay, p. 46; Rawlinson, *The Sixth Monarchy*, p. 182).

"Henceforth these winged adjuncts are discontinued, so that, if we are to seek for the prototype of the Heraüs coin amid Imperial Arsacidan models, we are closely limited in point of antiquity, though the possibly deferred adoption may be less susceptible of proof."

² The period of Isidore of Charax has been the subject of much controversy. The writer of the notice in Smith's Dictionary contents himself with saying, "He seems to have lived under the early Roman Emperors." C. Müller, the special authority for all Greek geographical questions, sums up his critical examination of the evidence to the point: "Probant scriptorem nostrum Augusti temporibus debere fuisse proximum."—*Geog. Grec. Min.* vol. i. p. lxxxv.

³ 17. Ἐντεῦθεν Ζαραγγιανή, σχοῖνοι κα'. Ἐνθα πόλις Πάρων καὶ Κορδὸκ πόλις. 18. Ἐντεῦθεν Σακαστανή Σακῶν Σκυθῶν, ἢ καὶ Παραϊτακηνή, σχοῖνοι ἐξ. Ἐνθα Βαρδὰ πόλις καὶ Μῖν πόλις καὶ Παλακεντὶ πόλις καὶ Σιγάλ πόλις· ἐνθα βασιλεία Σακῶν καὶ πλησίον Ἀλεξάνδρεια πόλις (καὶ πλησίον Ἀλεξανδρόπολις πόλις)· κῶμαι δὲ ἐξ. Isidore of Charax, "Stathmi Parthici," ed. C. Müller, Paris, pp. 253. lxxxv. and xciii., map No. x. The text goes on to enumerate the stages up to *Alexandropolis μητρόπολις Ἀραχωσίας*, and concludes: Ἄχρι τούτου ἐστὶν ἡ τῶν Πάρθων ἐπικράτεια. I annex for the sake of comparison Ptolemy's list of the cities of Drangia, after the century and a half which is roughly estimated as the interval between the two geographers. Sigal and Sakastanè seem

names of *Sakastanè* or *Paraitakenè* with a capital city entitled *Sigal*.

The ancient *Sigal* may perhaps be identified with the modern site of *Sekooha*, the metropolis of a district of that name, which, in virtue of its position, its walls, and its wells, still claims pre-eminence among the cities of *Seistán*.¹

And to complete the data, I now find on the surface of the

alike to have disappeared from the local map. 1. Προφθασία. 2. Ροῦδα. 3. Ἴννα. 4. Ἀρικήδα. 5. Ἄστα. 6. Ξαρξιάρη. 7. Νοστάνα. 8. Φαραζάνα. 9. Βρύσις. 10. Ἀριάσπη. 11. Ἀράνα.—Ptolemy, lib. vi. cap. 19; Hudson, vol. iii. p. 44; Journ. R.A.S. Vol. X. p. 21, and Vol. XV. pp. 97, 150, 206; Darius' Inscription, Persian "Saka," Scythic "Sakka." The old term of *سكان* is preserved in all the intelligent Persian and Arabian writers. Majmal Al Tawárikh, Journ. Asiatique, 1839 *سكان شاه*; Hamza Isfaháni *سكان شاه* p. 50; *سكان اسم لسجستان* p. 51. And the Armenians adhere to the *Sakasdan*.—Moses of Khorene, French edition, vol. ii. p. 143; Whiston, pp. 301, 364; St.-Martin, L'Arménie, vol. ii. p. 18. "سجستان. Les villes principales sont: *Zalek, Kerkouyah, Hissoum, Zaranj, et Bost*, où l'on voit les ruines de l'écurie de Roustam, le Héros."—B. de Meynard, La Perse, p. 303. Other references to the geography of this locality will be found in Pliny vi. 21; Ouseley's Oriental Geography, p. 205; Anderson's Western Afghánistan, J.A.S. Bengal, 1849, p. 586; Leech (*Sekwa*), J.A.S.B., 1844, p. 117; Khanikoff, 'Asie Centrale,' Paris, 1861, p. 162 (*Sékouhé*); Ferrier's Travels, p. 430; Malcolm's Persia, vol. i. p. 67; Pottinger's Beloochistán, pp. 407-9; Burnouf's Yaçna, p. xcix.

¹ "This fortress is the strongest and most important in *Seistán*, because, being at 5 parasangs from the lake, water is to be obtained only in wells which have been dug within its *enceinte*. The intermediate and surrounding country being an arid parched waste, devoid not only of water, but of everything else, the besiegers could not subsist themselves, and would, even if provisioned, inevitably die of thirst. It contains about 1200 houses. . . . I have called it the capital of *Seistán*, but it is impossible to say how long it may enjoy that title."—Caravan Journeys of J. P. Ferrier, edited by H. D. Seymour, Esq., Murray, 1857, p. 419. "On the 1st February, 1872, made a 30 mile march to *Sekuha*, the more modern capital of *Seistán* . . . finally we found *Sekuha* itself amid utter desolation."—Sir F. J. Goldsmid. From R. Geog. Soc. 1873, p. 70. See also Sir H. Rawlinson's elaborate notes on *Seistán*, p. 282, "Si-koheh" [three hills], in the same volume. I may add in support of this reading of the name of the capital, that it very nearly reproduces

the synonym of the obscure Greek *Σιγάλη*, in the counterpart Pehlvi *سیر = دودول*

Sí gar or *gal*, which stands equally for "three hills." Tabarí tells us that in the old language, "*guer a le sens de montagne*" (Zotenberg, vol. i. p. 5), and Hamza Isfaháni equally recognizes the *ger* as "*colles et montes*" (p. 37). The interchange of the *rs* and *ls* did not disturb the Iránian mind any more than the indeterminate use of *gs* and *ks*. See Journ. R.A.S. Vol. XII. pp. 265, 268, and Vol. XIII. p. 377. We need not carry on these comparisons further, but those who wish to trace identities more completely may consult Pictet, vol. i. p. 122, and follow out the Sanskrit *giri*, Slave *gora*, etc. Since the body of this note was set up in type, Sir F. Goldsmid's official report upon "Eastern Persia" has been published, and supplies the following additional

original coin, after the final A in ΣΑΚΑ, the Greek monogram Β, which apparently represents the ancient province, or provincial capital, of *Drangia*.¹



HERAÛS, ΣΑΚΑ KING.

Silver. British Museum. *Unique*.

Obv. "Bust of a king, right, diademed and draped; border of reels and beads.

REV. ΤΥΑΝΝΟΥΝΤΟΣ ΗΙΑΟΥ

ΣΑΚΑ

ΚΟΙΙΑΝΟΥ.

(Τυραννοῦντος Ἡράου Σάκα κοιράνου.)

A king, right, on horseback; behind, ΝΙΚΕ, crowning him.²"

details as to the characteristics of Sikoha:—"The town, . . . which derives its name from three clay or mud hills in its midst, is built in an irregular circular form around the base of the two principal hills. The southermost of these hills is surmounted by the *ark* or citadel, an ancient structure known as the citadel of Mir Kuchak Khán. . . . Adjoining this, and connected with it, is the second hill, called the Búrj-i-Falaksar, on which stands the present Governor's house; and about 150 yards to the west is the third hill, not so high as the other two, undefended. . . . The two principal hills thus completely command the town lying at their base, and are connected with one another by a covered way." "Sekuha is quite independent of an extra-mural water supply, as water is always obtainable by digging a few feet below the surface anywhere inside the walls, which are twenty-five feet in height, strongly built."—Major E. Smith, vol. i. p. 258.

¹ The progressive stages of this Monogram are curious. We have the normal **Α**.—Mionnet, pl. i. No. 12; Lindsay, *Coins of the Parthians*, pl. xi. No. 7. Next we have the Bactrian varieties **Β**, **Β**, and **Β**, entered in Prinsep's *Essays*, pl. xi. c. No. 53; *Num. Chron.* vol. xix. o.s. Nos. 48, 52, and vol. viii. n.s. pl. vii. Nos. 71, 72, and 76; and likewise Mionnet's varieties, Nos. 156, 299; *Ariana Antiqua*, pl. xxii. No. 118.

² I am indebted to Mr. P. Gardner for this woodcut. I retain his description of the coin as it appeared in the *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1874, vol. xiv. n.s. p. 161. It will be seen that Mr. Gardner failed to detect the worn outline of the Monogram.

Colonel Pearse, R.A., retains a single example of an exceptionally common class of small *silver* coins displaying the obverse head in identical form with the outline in the woodcut. The reverse type discloses an ill-defined, erect figure, to the left, similar in disjointed treatment to some of the reverses in the Antiochus-Kodes class,¹ accompanied by two parallel legends in obscure Greek. The leading line, *giving the title*, is altogether unintelligible; but its central letters range $\times \square \text{IAIIN} \times$ or $\times \square \text{IAIHK} \times$. The second line gives a nearer approach to "Moas" in a possible initial M, followed by the letters $\square \text{PIAHL} = \mu\omicron\iota\delta\eta\varsigma, \mu\omicron\pi\rho\eta\varsigma, \mu\omicron\iota\alpha\eta\varsigma$, etc. All these specimens, in addition to other Kodes associations, give outward signs of debased metal, or the Nickel, which was perchance, in those days, estimated as of equal value with silver.²

The interest in this remarkable coin is not confined to the approximate identifications of time and place, but extends itself to the tenor of the legend, which presents us with the unusual titular prefix of *Τυραννοῦντος*, which, as a synonym of *Βασιλεύοντος*, and here employed by an obvious subordinate, may be held to set at rest the disputed purport of the latter term, in opposition to the simple *Βασιλεύς*, which has such an important bearing upon the relative positions of the earlier Bactrian Kings. The examples of the use of the term *Βασιλεύοντος* in the preliminary Bactrian series are as follows³:—

- | | | |
|--|---|--|
| 1. Agathocles in subordi-
nation to Diodotus | } | Obv. ΔΙΟΔΟΤΟΥ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ. |
| | | Rev. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΟΝΤΟΣ ΑΓΑΘΟΚΛΕΟΥΣ ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ. |
| 2. Agathocles in subordi-
nation to Euthydemus | } | Obv. ΕΥΘΥΔΗΜΟΥ ΘΕΟΥ. |
| | | Rev. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΟΝΤΟΣ ΑΓΑΘΟΚΛΕΟΥΣ ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ. |
| 3. Agathocles in subordi-
nation to Antiochus | } | Obv. ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ ΝΙΚΑΤΟΡΟΣ. |
| | | Rev. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΟΝΤΟΣ ΑΓΑΘΟΚΛΕΟΥΣ ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ. |
| 4. Antimachus Theus in
subordination to Dio-
dotus | } | Obv. ΔΙΟΔΟΤΟΥ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ. |
| | | Rev. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΟΝΤΟΣ ΑΝΤΙΜΑΧΟΥ ΘΕΟΥ. |

¹ Num. Chron. vol. iv. n.s. p. 209, pl. viii. fig. 7.

² J.R.A.S., Vol. IV. n.s. p. 504; Records of the Gupta Dynasty, p. 38.

³ M. de Bartholomæi, Koehne's Zeitschrift, 1843, p. 67, pl. iii. fig. 2; Reply to M. Droysen, Zeitschrift für Münz, 1846; my papers in Prinsep's Essays (1858), vol. i. p. xvi., vol. ii. pp. 178-183; in the Numismatic Chronicle, vol. ii. 1862, p. 186; and Journ. R. A. S., Vol. XX. 1863, p. 126; M. Raoul Rochette, Journal des Savants, 1844, p. 117; Droysen, Geschichte des Hellenismus, Hamburg,

The whole question as to the relative rank of the princes, whose names figure conjointly in the above legends, reduces itself concisely to this contrast, that the sub-king invariably calls himself *βασιλεύς* on his own proper coins, but on these exceptional tributary pieces, where he prefixes the image and superscription of a superior, he describes himself as *Βασιλεύοντος*. These alien Satraps were effective kings within their own domains, but clearly bowed to some acknowledged head of the Bactro-Greek confederation, after the manner of their Indian neighbours, or perchance included subjects, who so especially regarded the gradational import of the supreme *Mahárajadhirája*, in contradistinction to the lesser degrees of regal state implied in the various stages of *rája*, *mahárája*, *rájádhirája*, etc. These binominal pieces are rare, and, numismatically speaking, "occasional," *i.e.* coined expressly to mark some public event or political incident, like our modern *medals*; coincident facts, which led me long ago to suggest¹ that they might have been struck as nominal tribute money or fealty pieces, in limited numbers, for submission with the annual *nazaráná*, or presentation at high State receptions, to the most powerful chief or general of the Græco-Bactrian oligarchy for the time being.

There is a curious feature in these binominal coins, which, as far as I am aware of, has not hitherto been noticed. It is, that the *obverse* head, representing the portrait of the superior king, seems to have been adopted directly from his own ordinary mint-dies,² which in their normal form presented

1843; Lassen, *Ind. Alt.*, 1847; Gen. Cunningham, *Numismatic Chronicle*, vol. viii. n.s. 1868, p. 278, et seq., ix. 1869, p. 29; Mr. Vaux, *Numismatic Chronicle*, vol. xv. n.s. p. 15.

¹ *Journal Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. XX. p. 127; *Numismatic Chronicle*, n.s. vol. ii. p. 186.

² I have long imagined that I could trace the likeness of Antiochus Theos on the obverse of the early gold coins of Diodotus (Prinsep's *Essays*, pl. xlii. 1; *Num. Chron.* vol. ii. n.s. pl. iv. figs. 1-3). I suppose, however, that in this case the latter monarch used his suzerain's ready-prepared die for the one face of his precipitate and perhaps hesitating coinage, conjoined with a new reverse device bearing his own name, which might have afforded him a loophole of escape on his "right to coin" being challenged. Apart from the similarity of the profile, the contrast between the high Greek art and perfect execution of the obverse head, and the coarse design and superficial tooling of the imitative reverse device, greatly favours the conclusion of an adaptation, though the motive may have been merely to utilize the *obverses* of existing mint appliances of such high merit.

the profile of the monarch without any surrounding legend, his name and titles being properly reserved for their conventional position on the *reverse* surface of his current coins. In the novel application of the head of the suzerain to a place on the *obverse* of a coin bearing the device and designations of his confessed subordinate on the *reverse*, it became necessary to add to the established obverse-device a specification of the name and titles of the superior, whose identification would otherwise have remained dependent upon the fidelity and the public recognition of the likeness itself. Hence, under the new adaptation, it likewise became requisite to engrave on the old die, around the standard Mint head, the suzerain's superscription in the odd corners and spaces in the field, no provision having been made, in the first instance, for any legend at all, and no room being left for the ordinary circular or perpendicular arrangement of the words, such as would have been spaced out under ordinary circumstances. In the majority of the instances we are able to cite, the Greek letters on the *adapted obverse* vary materially in their forms and outlines from those of the associated legends on the *reverse*, which still further proves the independent manipulation applied to the obverses of the compound pieces.

In addition to these indications as bearing upon the Bactrian proper coinage, the title of *Τυραννοῦντος* is highly suggestive in its partial reappearance on the coins of the leading Sáh Kings Nahapana and Chastana, connecting the Scythic element geographically to the southward with the province of Guzerát, for a full *résumé* of which I must refer my readers to the Archæological Report of Western India,¹ for 1875.

¹ See also the short copies of my Essay on the Records of the Gupta Dynasty, London, 1876, p. 31.

ART. II.—*The Tenses of the Assyrian Verb.* By the Rev.
A. H. SAYCE, M.A.

DR. HINCKS once spoke of Assyrian as the Sanskrit of the Semitic languages, and the progress of cuneiform decipherment has tended to show that his words were not greatly exaggerated. It is true that Assyrian belongs to the northern branch of the Semitic family, which includes Hebrew and Aramaic, and not to the southern, which comprises Arabic and Ethiopic; it is true, also, that it bears a closer relationship to Hebrew and Phœnician than to any other Semitic idiom; but it is no less true that it has thrown an unexpected light on several of the problems of general Semitic philology. The reasons of this are clear enough. We possess contemporaneous monuments of the language from a very remote date, far beyond the antiquity which can be ascribed to any other record of Semitic speech; the language, even at that time, was already a literary one, and so stereotyped certain early grammatical forms that have been lost or obscured in the other dialects which did not become literary until at a much later period of growth; the syllabic character of the writing has preserved the vowels exactly as they were pronounced; and the monuments were inscribed while the speech of the people was still a living one, and not handed down through the doubtful channels of tradition and copyists. To this we may add that the literary character of Assyrian brought about an artificial perfection—not unlike that of classical Sanskrit—which enables us to see very clearly the natural tendencies of Semitic speech; and the agglutinative tongue of ancient Accad, which was to the Assyrian what Latin was to the scholar of the Middle Ages, not only gives us the origin of much that has hitherto

seemed strange in the dictionary and grammar of the Semite, but allows us to watch the working and results of foreign influence upon a Semitic language. But as in Sanskrit, so in Assyrian, it is to its early development as a literary dialect, and to the antiquity of its written monuments, that its value to the Semitic philologist is chiefly due. The comparative immobility of the language, which changed but slightly in the course of 2000 years, shows plainly how checked its natural growth must have been by literature and the schools. This must have been aided, too, by the cramping influence of a dead language like Accadian, with which every one who pretended to education had to be more or less acquainted, and the constantly recurring statement that the books with which the libraries were stocked had been copied or transcribed "for the inspection of the people" is clear evidence how widely education must have been spread. No spoken language, however, can ever remain quite stationary, and even in the literary dialect of the monuments we may trace a gradual change, which displays itself partly in the action of phonetic decay, partly in grammatical development. But though the literary dialect itself, on the one hand, was not wholly unchanging, while the common language of everyday life, on the other hand, was affected by the conservative influences of a literary education, yet a considerable difference came in time to exist between the two. Anomalous forms occasionally show themselves on the monuments, due to the imperfect education of the scribe or the ignorance of the sculptor, while inscriptions like those of the contract-tablets, which necessarily reflect to a certain extent the current language, are full of forms and expressions unknown to classical Assyrian. The northern dialect of Assyria seems to have undergone more change than the southern dialect of Babylonia, especially in the direction of phonetic decay, and as certain results of this tendency to change, such as the loss of the mimmatum, had been brought about before the Assyrians of the north had much troubled themselves with education and literature, they are reproduced without scruple in the most correctly-written documents.

Making every deduction, however, literary Assyrian has preserved grammatical forms, especially in the case of the verb, which throw a flood of light on corresponding forms in the cognate dialects. The large mass of materials now at our disposal enables us to do for Assyrian what Ewald or Olshausen have done for Hebrew, and to define those delicate distinctions in the use of verbal forms, a knowledge of which constitutes the very essence of scholarship. A comparison of these forms and their use ought to give us some insight into their origin and gradual development.

Dr. Hincks's sagacity first detected the different shades of meaning attached by the Assyrians to allied verbal forms, though the means at his disposal did not allow him to explain the origin of this difference in signification, or even to connect it with common Semitic usage. His fine-drawn distinctions, therefore, met with but little acceptance; the nomenclature he had adopted was one unsuited to a Semitic speech, and led only to an erroneous explanation of the facts; while, so long as simple historical inscriptions were the main object of study, it was comparatively easy to ride roughshod over the more delicate variations of form and meaning without much detriment to the sense.

The progress of decipherment, however, and more particularly an examination of the bilingual (Accadian and Assyrian) inscriptions, proved incontestably that Dr. Hincks was right in the shades of signification which he assigned to certain forms, whatever might be thought about the conclusions he drew from them. As M. Fr. Lenormant has stated:¹ "Ces fragments de paradigmes, par la correspondance constante qu'ils établissent entre les formes accadiennes et certaines formes assyriennes, fournissent un précieux contrôle, pour les théories émises au sujet du verbe assyrien; . . . et donnent raison à Hincks contre M. Oppert sur les deux points essentiels de doctrine controversés entre ces savants éminents, l'existence en assyrien d'un permansif formé comme le prétérit des autres langues sémitiques, et celle d'un présent

¹ *Études Accadiennes*, tom. i. ptie. 1. p. 20.

du Kal avec la seconde radicale doublée, c'est-à-dire presque semblable au paël et n'en différant que par la vocalisation." Now Hincks's scheme was the following :

KAL.

	<i>Permansive.</i>	<i>Aorist.</i>	<i>Present</i>	<i>Perfect.</i>	<i>Future.</i>
Sing. 1	paglacu, paglak	apgul 'I did'	apaggil 'I do'	apgulu 'I have done'	apaggilu 'I shall do'
	3 m. pagil	ipgul	ipaggil	ipgulu	ipaggilu
Pl. 3 m.	pagilu, paglu	ipgulu	ipaggilu	ipgulūni	ipaggilūni

Besides these tenses there was an Aorist (and Imperative), and more rarely a Present, which had "the augment of motion," -a, attached to them.

The same tenses Hincks believed were to be found also in the other conjugations ; though in these the distinction between the Aorist and Perfect on the one side, and the Present and the Future on the other, was made by a change in the vowel before the last radical, *upaggil*, for instance, being the Aorist, and *upaggal* the Present of Pael.

In my *Assyrian Grammar for Comparative Purposes* I adopted Dr. Hincks's views as to the facts, and to a certain extent his nomenclature, and endeavoured by the help of examples and references to set the correctness of them beyond dispute. The theory he had based upon the facts, however, was due to a confusion between Semitic and Aryan grammar, and could only lead to mischievous and erroneous results ; and it says much for his acuteness as a decipherer, that with such a theory he yet saw the facts so clearly and distinguished them with such accuracy. The theory, therefore, I had to discard, and to endeavour to explain the facts as they presented themselves, in accordance with the principles of Semitic grammar. Hincks's Permansive, as I pointed out, is plainly the Perfect of the other Semitic dialects, and the form of its first person singular resembles that of the Ethiopic Perfect ; the distinction between the Aorist and Present both in form and sense meets us also in Ethiopic ; while the so-called "augment of motion" is not an augment at all, but

has the same origin and stands on the same footing as the *u* of the "Perfect" and Future, and the mimimated forms which occur in the inscriptions.

Since the publication of my Grammar, Assyrian philology has made rapid advances, new and grammatically important texts have been discovered and examined, the students of general Comparative Philology have turned their attention to the subject, and my own views, founded upon a comparison of Assyrian with the cognate Semitic idioms, and a wider knowledge of monuments of various dates and character, have gradually taken a more consistent and definite shape. It is, I think, now possible to trace the origin and growth of the tenses of the Assyrian verb, and thereby of the Semitic verb generally. The present paper will show whether or not I am right in thinking so.

An important monograph, "On Dr. Hincks's 'Permansive Tense' in the Assyrian Verb," was presented to the Oriental Congress by the Rev. G. C. Geldart at their London Meeting in 1874.¹ The author confines himself chiefly to the first person singular in *-acu*, and comes to the conclusion that "during the whole Assyrio-Babylonian period of Semitic, this affirmative *-aku* or *-ak*, which subsequently, as the Æthiopic language shows, became restricted to verbal bases, was capable of attaching itself indifferently to these, to substantival, to adjectival, and in short to all bases susceptible of inflection; and only fortuitously became subject to the limitation which we find in Æthiopic." In a sentence like *puputa rabacu acala dhabsacu* 'crops I increase, corn I mature,' put into the mouth of the goddess Iskhara, 'the Queen of Cisurra' (W. A. I. ii. 60, 14), or *caccu cabtur sa Anuv nasācu* 'the heavy weapon of Anu I bear' (W. A. I. ii. 19, 64), the forms in *-acu* are as purely verbal as נִשְׂאָתִי or טַפְּשִׁיתִי in Hebrew. Elsewhere, however, we find the form combined with an adjective, such as *nahdacu* 'I am glorious,' *etsracu* (from עֶצֶר) 'I am supreme,' *captacu* 'I am powerful,' *karradacu* 'I am warlike,' *dannacu* 'I am strong,' and even *zicaracu* 'I

¹ Published in the *Transactions*, pp. 25-34.

am manly' (W. A. I. i. 17, 32). The last word, however, goes back rather to a semi-substantival base than to a purely adjectival one, like *asaridacu* 'I am a chief,' and *šarracu* 'I am a king,' in the same passage, and the vowel of the first syllable is most striking, showing as it does that the suffix might be attached to a fully-formed noun. The same fact is exemplified, as has just been stated, in *asaridacu* from *asaridu* and *šarracu* from *šarru*, though it may be questioned how far the nouns with which the suffix was used were regarded as substantives and not adjectives; at all events they were originally adjectives, and no instance has yet been discovered in which the form in *-acu* is appended to a substantive pure and simple. In *cānacu* 'I am strong' (W. A. I. ii. 60, 10), we have a Pael participle, while $\text{𐎠𐎢𐏁𐎢𐏁} \text{ 𐎠𐎢𐏁} \text{ 𐎠𐎢𐏁} \text{ 𐎠𐎢𐏁} \text{ 𐎠𐎢𐏁}$ (W. A. I. i. 66, 4; 67, 17), which must be read *cāyanac*, affords us an instance of the *nomen verbi* or infinitive; and *badhlac* 'I fail' (W. A. I. i. 52, 3, 20), *saldhac* 'I rule' (Naksh-i-Rustam, 9), *pitlukhac* 'I worship' (i. 53, 39, 50), and *bitugac* 'I work at' (i. 54, 3, 20), combine the affirmative with the base of an intransitive verb. We thus have a gradual transition from the semi-substantival *šarracu* or *zicaracu* and the adjectival *nahdacu*, through the pres. part. *cānacu* and the infinitival *cayanac*, to the verbal *badhlac* and *dhabzacu*, the exact analogues of the Ethiopic *gabarcu* and *nagarcu*. It has long been recognized that the final *cu* of the Ethiopic answers to the final תי , ت , and ת of the Heb., Arab., and Aram. perfect, and represents the first personal pronoun which we have in the Assyrian *anacu* and Hebrew אני . So far as the first person sing. is concerned, therefore, the Assyrian Permansive and the Eth. Perfect are both formed by the attachment of the first personal pronoun to verbal bases, and in Assyrian to other words as well.¹ Now Mr.

¹ Besides *-acu* we also find *-aca* (e.g. *tsibaca* 'I wish,' Naksh-i-Rustam, 24) This is the objective case of the pronoun, which is alone joined with the verbal base in the Aryan languages, as in *ad-mi*. Just as the Aryan *mi* is weakened from *ma*, so *a* is regularly weakened in Assyrian to *i*. We do not find *-aci* however. In Hebrew, on the other hand, *i* is weakened from *u* (e.g. ילך for ילךתי).

Geldart has pointed out that the attachment of the personal pronouns not only to verbal bases, but also to other words, is exactly paralleled in Aramaic.¹ Here, not *anacu*, but *anā*, which has become *eno* in Syriac, is the first pers. pron., and like the other personal pronouns may be suffixed to the participle present, as well as to adjectival and semi-substantival bases, to create a present or permansive tense. Thus in Chaldee קַמְלָנָא for קַמְלָא + אֲנָא means 'I (am) killing,' דְּרִכְרָנָא 'I remember,' שְׁלַחְנָא 'I send,' in Syriac סְמַחְא וְנָא *kodhel'no* (with *linea occultans*) for *kodhel* + *eno* 'I (am) killing,' *eno'no* 'I (am)' (as in וְנָא וְנָא לְזַנְא 'I (am) the door'), *omar'no* 'I (am) saying,' *d'pawlos'no* 'of Paul (am) I,' *malco'no* 'I (am) king;' while even Biblical Hebrew, as Schaaf has noted,² presents us with Aramaising forms like יִשְׁבְּתִי '(which) thou inhabitest' (Jer. xxii. 23),³ וְיִלְדְּתִי 'and thou wilt bring forth' (Gen. xvi. 11), שְׁכַנְתִּי '(which) thou dwellest in' (Jer. li. 13), מְקַנְנְתִּי '(which) thou hast built' (Jer. xxii. 23), which the Masoretic punctuators treated as combinations of the participle and the 2nd pers. fem. pron.; and to these Mr. Geldart would add the Niphal נִתְּנִיתִי (Gen. xxii. 23). Now *malco'no* (as in the verse *d'hu emar d'malco'no* 'but that he said "I am king,"' John xix. 21) is as perfect a representative of the Assyrian *sarracu* as we can well have, while *kodhel'no* may fairly be regarded as a verb. A Rabbinical example quoted by Schaaf⁴ from the Mishna, מְקַוְבְּלִנִי 'cabbalizatus sum,' is a remarkable example of the amalgamation of the pronoun with the participle of a derived conjugation, and alone justifies the statement that the amalgamation of a pronoun with a participle to express a verbal idea is not foreign to Semitic grammar.⁵ In Chaldee, also, the attach-

¹ pp. 31-33. So too Delitzsch, *Assyrische Studien*, vol. i. p. 123.

² "Opus Aramæum," pp. 334-336.

³ Where Kimchi saw merely a *yod compaginis*. Ewald would make יִלְדְּתִי = יִלְדְּתִי, like יִשְׁבְּתִי for יִשְׁבְּתִי (with the genitival *yod*), etc. The punctuators, however, assimilated these forms to those of the Aramaic *tempus durans*.

⁴ "Opus Aramæum," p. 336.

⁵ Geldart, p. 31.

ment of the pronoun to the participle is common to all the conjugations.

The Aramaic forms quoted above are of course of modern origin; but they serve to show how a Semitic tense is able to grow up. What has happened in modern times in one Semitic language could happen in ancient times in several of them; and it is not more wonderful to have *kodhel'no* by the side of *malco'no* than it is to have *dhabsacu* by the side of *šarracu*. When the pronoun *acu* was attached as a preformative, it was still regarded as separate from the base קטל, with which, like the 2nd pers. pron. and the other form of the 1st pers. *an-ya* (אני), it afterwards became inseparably united; when the Aramæans, however, began to remedy their want of a particular tense by agglutinating *ana* and *eno* to participles and other words, all recollection of the compound nature of the pronoun had been lost. But the process in the two cases was precisely the same.

The 2nd and 3rd pers. pronouns were naturally treated in the same way as the first. In Chaldee קטלת is 'thou (art) killing,' for קטל + את, in Syriac *kodhlat* 'thou art killing,' *kodhel'ū* or *kodhela'w* 'he is killing,' *malca'w* 'he (is) king,' *kodhloy* 'she (is) killing,' *kodhlinan* 'we are killing,' *kodhlithon*, *kodhlathen* 'ye are killing' (masc. and fem.), while the 2nd pers. sing. fem. is written קטלת¹ in Chaldee, and ܩܬܠܬܝ in Syriac, but having no point the final letter is silent, or in other words has ceased to be pronounced. Chaldee adds a fem. of the 1st pers. pl. קטלנן, and has the same forms as Syriac for the 2nd pers. pl.; but neither Chaldee nor Syriac have any forms for the 3rd pers. pl., and Chaldee none for the 3rd pers. sing. Winer, however, after giving a termination in י for the amalgamation of the part. pass. (קטילי), adds, "Im Targum nach Editio Veneta, erscheinen dergleichen Bildungen auch von den Partep. activ., z. B. אמר Cant. i. 1, . . . aus אמר." In Assyrian, also, the Perman-

¹ So Winer; Fürst writes קטלת¹.


sive must have been conjugated throughout, though our limited knowledge of the inscriptions has failed as yet to furnish us with the 1st person pl. To Prof. Schrader and Dr. Prätorius is due the discovery of the 2nd pers. sing. masc., which is formed like the corresponding person in Aramaic by the attachment of *at*, the shortened form of the 2nd pers. pron. Thus *tsīrat*, preceded by *atta*, is 'thou art supreme' (K. 2861, 54; K. 3132, 14), (*tantiv rapastar pulukhtar*) *malat* ' (the wide sea with terror) thou fillest' (K. 2861, 29), and in a curious hymn (S. 954, *obv.* 2, *rev.* 2) I have twice found *naphhat* 'thou dawnest,' once with *atti* following. The latter instance shows that the form in *-at* was fem. as well as masc., *at-* standing equally for *atta* and *atti*. This 2nd pers. sing. was distinguished from the 3rd pers. fem. sing. by the length of the final vowel, which was short in the 2nd pers. and long in the 3rd. Thus in W. A. I. iii. 65, 6, we find *te-kha-a-at* for *tekhāt* after the feminine noun 'uznu. More generally, however, the difference in the length of the vowel was not expressed in the writing, *ba-sa-at*, for instance, being written instead of *ba-sa-a-at*, or *ma-la-at* instead of *ma-la-a-at*, since an Assyrian reader would of course know how the words were to be pronounced in the two cases. The 3rd pers. sing. masc. was, so far as form goes, simply the participle present stripped of its case-endings, and only differing from the construct case of the participle in not standing *in regimine*, but at the end of a sentence. If the verb were transitive, it would be preceded by its noun in the objective case. Thus we read (W. A. I. i. 22, 105) *cirkhu-sucima uban sade sacin* 'its head like the summit of a mountain was lying.' In the case of verbs לָא or לָה this person ended in *ī* or *-iv*, which, in accordance with a common phonological law in Assyrian, might become the diphthong *-e*. Thus we have *malī* and *maliv* from מלא in W. A. I. iii. 65, 7, 13 (*ullamunna kakkadu zumra sibāti malī* 'it fills the head (and) body with white (hairs),' *duppi sa seri maliv* 'it fills (the body) with lumps of flesh'), and *banē* from בנה in W. A. I. ii. 17, 30 (*sa bun banē* 'he who forms an image,' where,

however, I am unable to explain the construct form of the noun). The masc. and fem. of the 3rd pers. pl. ended like the Aorist in *-u* and *-a*. Numberless examples of these forms occur in the inscriptions. I may instance *pan barci tsabtu-va yusahlu cacci-sun* 'the front of my knees they seized and sent forth their arrows' (W. A. I. i. 41, 49); *sa cušša attu-à nasū* 'which support my throne,' and *yavanu sanutu sa maginata ina kakkadu-sunu nasū* 'those Ionians who bear helmets on their head' (Naksh-i-Rustam, 27, 18); *balti uššu pulukhti melamme sarruti itāti-su šakhrā* 'power, strength, reverence (and) fulness of royalty surround its walls' (W. A. I. i. 64, 35), or *eli sade-sunu martsuti daglu* 'to their rugged mountains they trusted.' Elsewhere we have *tsabtu*, written $\text{𐎶} \text{𐎶} \text{𐎶} \text{𐎶}$ and $\text{𐎶} \text{𐎶} \text{𐎶} \text{𐎶}$, and preceded by the accusative *sada*, interchanged with *itsbatu*, as if there were not much difference in the meaning of the two forms (W. A. I. i. 18, 48). The dual of the 3rd person in *-ā* frequently meets us in the phrase '*uznā basā* 'the ears exist,' where the length of the final vowel is denoted by the addition of the vowel $\text{𐎶} \text{𐎶}$ (*a*). Besides *tsabru* we also find the longer form *tsabrūni* 'they collect' (W. A. I. i. 21, 76), which will have to be considered when we come to speak of the Aorist. I have discovered an instance of the 2nd pers. masc. pl. in *banatunu* 'ye form' (W. A. I. iv. 34, 61). Judging from analogy, the 2nd pers. fem. pl. would be *banatina*.

The forms of the Assyrian Permansive which have been just given belong to Kal; but numerous examples of the tense in the other conjugations may be collected. Thus in the sentence *tsalami . . . mināti patlulu . . . sakis nanzuzu* 'images . . . mingled (their) numbers (and) . . . on high were fixed' (*Layard*, 40, 52), we have examples of both the Iphtéal and the Niphál; and as instances of the Iphtéal of Concave verbs which prefix the characteristic (𐎶) instead of inserting it after the first radical, we have *asar panu-ci sacnu tebacu anacu* 'to the place set before thee I am coming' (S. H. A. 124, 60), *sa . . . tebūni* 'who had come' (W. A. I. i. 41, 44), or *urukh Accadi itsbatūnir-va ana Babila tebuni* 'the

road to Accad they had taken and to Babylon they came' (W. A. I. i. 41, 40).¹ An example of the feminine 3rd pl. of the Permansive of Iphtéal is afforded us in *sa zakhalū latbusa* 'which put on (=were covered with) paint.' *Latbusa*, however, may be read *litbusa*, and in this case will be an Iphtaál instead of an Iphtéal, like *citnusu* 'they were submissive' (W. A. I. i. 37, 66), *subat-sun sitcunat* 'their abode was situated' (Botta, 41, 39), *yumu va musí sitkulu* 'day and night were balancing one another' (W. A. I. iii. 51, 3). It is possible that the form with *a* after the first radical is an Iphtaál, and that with *i* an Iphtéal.

In Pael we find *karradacu* 'I am warlike' (W. A. I. i. 17, 32), and *allacā bircāya* 'my knees go' (W. A. I. ii. 16, 30), besides frequent examples of a curious Permansive Pael of Concave verbs which changes the medial radical into *i*, and has a passive or neuter signification, like *kīla*, the perf. pass. I of *kulu* in Arabic. Thus *sepāya nikhā* 'my feet have rest,' from נִיחַ (W. A. I. ii. 16, 31), *racibu-sin dicu* 'their charioteers were slain,' from רָוַח (W. A. I. i. 42, 11); *attu-ni asabāni mīnu* 'as for us the dwelling-places are numbered' (S. H. A. p. 24, 6). In place of an active Permansive of Pael these verbs used a Pael which took the form of *cunnu*, as in *daltu va šicuru cunnu* 'the door and porch they founded' (a translation of the Accadian *ib-tan-gubbu-s* 'they caused to fix,' W. A. I. ii. 15, 3) or *zummu*, as in *zummu nūra* 'they deprive of light'² (K. 162, *obv.* 7). Similarly we get *cullū* 'they are holding,' from כָּלַל, in the inscriptions of the Persian period (Naksh-i-Rustam, 26). I have come across no examples of the Permansive of Shaphel, but Permansives of the Passive conjugations are of frequent occurrence. Pael and Shaphel (with its two subordinate conjugations Aphel and Istaphel) were each accompanied in Assyrian by a Passive which was formed in the same way as in Arabic by the obscure vowel *u*. Thus in K. 162, *rev.* 1, we

¹ An interesting example of the 3rd pers. masc. pl. Permansive Kal of this verb בָּוֵא 'to come' (not תָּבֵא as Dr. Schrader conjectures), will be found in W. A. I. ii. 65, 6, where it is written  *bū*.

² Dr. Schrader calls this a Perfect ("Die Höllenfahrt der Istar," p. 26).

have *guddud appa-su* 'he inclined his face;'¹ in W. A. I. i. 17, 32, *šurrukhacu* 'I am prosperous'; *subat-ša tsukkkhurat* 'its site was small' (Layard, 38, 8); *sina vussura-va ramanū-sun ittanallaca* 'they (*fem.*) were abandoned and got themselves hastily away' (W. A. I. i. 42, 11, 12); *sa zīve nuššuka* 'which (*fem. pl.*) mounted up in splendour' (Layard, 40, 3); *nummuru pakhar-sin* 'their group has been seen' (Lay. 40, 5). Shaphel gives us *sa . . . sukuru* 'which were caused to be proclaimed'; *sa . . . suluca* 'which were made to go'; *sa . . . sursudu* 'which was caused to be erected'; *caccu . . . sulucu* 'the weapon has been made to go' (W. A. I. ii. 19, 27); *sa cima yume nuri subū* 'which like the day causes the light to come'² (W. A. I. ii. 19. 20.); and Istaphal *sa ana sumkut naciri subū tuclāti-su* 'whose troops are caused to come to the slaughter of the enemy' (Botta, 54, 11); *la sutcsuru mutsē mē-su* 'the exits of its waters were not made straight' (W. A. I. i. 51, 1, 32). The last example is an instance of a common phonetic change in Assyrian, by which the initial radical of verbs א פ becomes *e* (⌣ or ⌣̄). Thus we have *ecul* for *acul* 'I eat,' *esib* for *asib* 'I dwelt,' *yusesib* for *yusasib* 'I caused to dwell.' Elsewhere we find *sutabulu* from אבּל, where, however, the preservation of *a* seems to be due to the fact that the form was derived from אבּל rather than from אבּל; but this is not the case with *sutatū* 'they are caused to be gone' (W. A. I. iii. 58, 5, 4), the pass. Istaphal of ארתה. In complete verbs the vowel after the first radical in the Pass. Shaphel Perm. was usually *a*, as in *sa cim urpāti istu same sukalula* 'which like the clouds of heaven was made to be equalled' (W. A. I. i. 18, 62); though in the last passage we have a variant reading *sukuhulat*, which shows that *u* was sometimes preferred. Whether the vowel were *a* or *u*, however, it was short, and might be dropped as in *sursudu* above; consequently a word like אַ אַ אַ אַ

¹ Called a Perfect by Dr. Schrader (Zeitschrift d. D. M. G. xxviii. 1, S. 137). M. Oppert translates 'se déchira le visage' ("L'immortalité de l'âme chez les Chaldéens," p. 16).

² From אבּוּ; it renders the Accadian *mun-uddu*. As a participle it has a passive sense; e.g. *abu Nannar . . . subū* 'father moon-god . . . that art caused to come (periodically)' (K. 2861, *obv.* 14).

(W. A. I. iii. 64, 7; i. 15, 57) must be read *sutrir*, pass. Iphreal of אַרר (Heb. ירה), and not *subarrur*, though the double consonant might be explained by its denoting the accent.

From the foregoing it will be seen that most of the Permansives of the derived conjugations were formed from the *nomen verbi*. The use and (in many cases) the formation of the Assyrian Permansive show clearly its identity with the tense which is usually called the Perfect in the allied Semitic idioms, and enable us to see how this tense grew up. Contracted forms of the pronouns were agglutinated to nouns, infinitives, participles and verbal bases, and out of the agglutination there came forth a tense. Assyrian preserved to the last its recollection of the way in which this tense had originated, and never ceased to be able to verbalise nouns as well as verbal bases; in the other dialects the formation had become restricted to verbal bases and been crystallised into a regular tense before the rise of writing or literature. Unlike the later formations in Aramaic, the third person was primarily the *nomen agentis* in Kal, the *nomen verbi* in the derived conjugations, position alone distinguishing it from the latter; but just as the suffixed pronouns of the first and second persons could be attached to the *nomen verbi*, so the third person of Kal also might be a *nomen verbi*. This is certainly the case with the Arabic *kabala*, the Aram. *k'bal*, and the Heb. *kâbal*, though the poetical forms קָטַן and קָבַר do not differ from the participle. What I have called a verbal base is really at bottom a *nomen verbi*. Hereafter we shall see reason for thinking that the name *nomen verbi* is a misnomer.

This, then, was the genesis of the Semitic Perfect, analogous to the genesis of the later Aramaic substitute for a present or *tempus durans*, and it is the conservative language of Assyria which has allowed us to discover it. It is plain that there was once a time when the Semite possessed only one tense, that which was afterwards marked off as an Imperfect or Aorist when the Permansive or Perfect came into existence. A verb with one tense only must necessarily have

an extremely vague signification; in fact it cannot denote time at all, only relation; and this will explain the subsequent history of the Semitic verb. In this way we can understand how anything like a temporal meaning is absent from the Semitic tenses, and how when in the course of development the Semites wanted to express the idea of time, they had to do so either by the help of position, as in the Hebrew pluperfect, or of particles like *kad* in Arabic,¹ or of a differentiation of varying forms of the same tense, as in the Ethiopic *yĕgbar* (*yéngĕr*) and *yĕgábĕr*.

We come now to the Imperfect, which I prefer to call the Aorist in Assyrian. Of this tense we find the following forms in the 3rd pers. sing. Kal: *iscunum*, *iscunu*; *iscunim*, *iscuni*; *iscunam*, *iscuna*; *iscun* (*itsbat*, *ipdhir*); *isaccinum*, *isaccinu*; *isaccinim*, *isaccini*; *isaccinam*, *isaccina*; *isaccin* (*inaccar*, *idammum*). It will be observed that the Imperfect of the other Semitic languages is here split up into two primary forms *iscun* or *iscin*, and *isaccin* or *isaccun*. The second form is frequently written with a single instead of a double consonant between the second and third syllables; but this is due to the carelessness of the Assyrian scribes, who often neglected to notice a double letter (as in Ethiopic and unpointed Hebrew or Arabic). A double consonant in Assyrian, however, may arise from two causes. It may either have a grammatical origin, the double letter denoting a change of grammatical relation; or it may simply be intended to show that the preceding vowel is accented. More often than not the latter is the true cause of a double consonant in the writing.² And it is the cause of the double consonant in *isaccin*. This really stands for *isácin*, and bears therefore the same relation to *iscun* that *yĕgábĕr* does to *yĕgbar* in Ethiopic. The imperfect tense has had exactly the same history in both languages, and, as I hope to point out presently, for precisely the same reasons. The Assyrian Pael *yūsaccin* differs from

¹ So *lū* in Assyrian (see my *Assyrian Grammar*, p. 170), and קאים, זמין, עתיד, קאים, איתמוס (*ἔτοιμος*) in later Hebrew.

² The difficulties we experience in this matter are not greater than those which Ludolf had to contend with in Ethiopic. Thus we find him writing *yĕnágĕr* *yenagger*.

the Kal *isaccin* not only in the preformative *š*, which answers to the Heb. שׁ , but also in the nature and office of the double consonant. In the one case it is formal, in the other merely accentual.

For the present let us confine ourselves to the form *iscun*.¹ Now the Assyrian noun retained the primitive case-endings, *-u* for the nominative, *-i* for the genitive, and *-a* for the accusative, the construct state being marked by the absence of any one of these three terminations. The three vowels were originally long, but in the course of time came to be shortened. They were also originally provided with a final *-m*, pronounced, perhaps, like the final *-m* in Latin which may be elided before a vowel, and this *-m* has been happily termed the mimmation by M. Oppert. It is found in one of the Himyaritic dialects, and just as final *m* has become *n* in Greek, so too in Arabic the mimmation has passed into the nunnation. Now it is evident that the forms of *iscun* given above—*iscunum*, *iscunu*; *iscunim*, *iscuni*; *iscunam*, *iscuna*; *iscun*—correspond exactly with the terminations of the noun. Thus we have a mimimated form, which for the sake of distinction we will call the Energetic Aorist, three forms in which the mimmation has been dropped answering to the three cases of the noun, and finally an apocopated form which stands in the same relation to the others that the construct state does to the case-endings.

A common phonetic law in Assyrian is that by which *a* (and occasionally *u*) is weakened to *i*. Thus beside *sa*, the third personal fem. pron., we find *si*, beside *sa'atu*, *si'atu*. The case-ending *-i* must be of later origin than those in *-u* and *-a*, and in accordance with this fact we find the termination in *-i* coming more and more to take the place of the other two in the noun, while in the verb the traces of it grow continually fainter. The common masc. plural in *-i* or *-e* (Heb. constr. pl. ים) as well as the shortening of the case-

¹ I am inclined to think that this was pronounced *yiscun* by the Assyrians. At all events verbs N'D make *yatsab* in the 3rd pers. masc. sing. Present Kāl (W. A. I. ii. 12, 23), and in Babylonian 𐤠𐤢𐤏𐤍 𐤠𐤢𐤏𐤍 𐤠𐤢𐤏𐤍 *ebus* 'he made' (𐤏𐤢𐤏𐤍) is sometimes written *i-bus*, sometimes *ε-i-bus*, as though for *eybus* (= *yebus*).

terminations were in great measure the causes of this difference. The fact remains that the three forms *iscunu*, *iscuna* and *iscun* came to be used to the almost entire exclusion of the form *iscuni*. This happened before any distinct difference of meaning grew up between *iscunu*, *iscuna* and *iscun*.

This difference of meaning had been attached to the three forms in question at the time to which our oldest existing Assyrian monuments go back. The form *iscuna* corresponds with the Hebrew Cohortative, though the cohortative sense is not identified with the termination *-a* in Assyrian, except in the Precative and Imperative, as *lillica* 'may he go,' *sullima* 'accomplish thou.' In the Indicative the form *iscuna* is employed in either of three cases. (1) It is used when the accusative follows instead of preceding the verb; (2) when the verb implies motion; and (3) in relative and conditional sentences. In the latter case it generally answers to the Arabic subjunctive, which like its Assyrian analogue terminates in *-a*. This *-a* is identical with the accusative case-ending of the noun, and in Hebrew, as in the other dialects, the verbal and nominal forms in *-a* (אָ) are written alike. The Hebrew form shows that the *-a* was originally long, although it seems to have become short in Assyrian, the reason being that it was a contraction of the primitive mimmed vowel. Thus in Arabic *yactulānna* or *yactulān* becomes *yactulā* in pause, and similarly we must trace the Assyrian *iscunā* through *iscunā* back to *iscunām*, where the Arabic would indicate that the vowel was short.

As the form *iscuna* corresponds with the objective case of the noun, we can easily understand how it came to be used in Assyrian in the three senses given above. The object is that to which the mind travels, the locality in which it finds rest. Hence the verb assumed the objective form when the object had not yet been named, and when the mind was still moving on towards it. In other words, the objective case and form imply 'motion to.' This explains why what I would term the Objective Aorist was preferred whenever the verb contained the idea of movement, as in *aslula* 'I carried off,' *aspura* 'I sent.' Its use in relative and conditional sentences

arose from the fact that these may be considered as so many objects or subordinate appendages of the principal idea, and the conception of limitation implied in the objective case of the noun, to which the mind travels and no further, is the conception which underlies every dependent, that is limited, clause. The cohortative tense, as I have said in my *Assyrian Grammar*,¹ "arises from the idea of motion in urging oneself or another forward to do a thing, and implies a continuance of the action desired by putting it into effect."

I have taken the Objective Aorist *iscuna* first, partly because I believe the objective to be the oldest case of the noun, partly because the distinction of meaning between it and the other two forms of the Aorist is always carefully observed in the Assyrian inscriptions, and translators who neglect it are guilty of unscholarly carelessness. As a matter of fact, however, the Subjective Aorist *iscunu*, answering as it does to the Subjective case of the noun, ought to have precedence. As in Hebrew, Phœnician, Aramaic and Ethiopic, the Subjective Aorist in *-u* has been almost supplanted in Assyrian by the Apocopated Aorist *iscun*. Whenever the form *iscunu* is employed, we generally find it with a perfect or pluperfect sense, and very frequently after a relative or a conditional particle. We cannot always, however, render it as a perfect or a pluperfect, and on this account, if for no other reason, Dr. Hincks's proposal to call it a Perfect is inadmissible.

The extended use of the Construct or Apocopated Aorist seems to be due to its aptitude to denote vigour, though it may also be accounted for by the action of phonetic decay. It answers to the so-called Jussive in Arabic, though *not* to the Jussive in Hebrew. The latter is a further shortening of the Construct Aorist, and presents difficulties that are extremely perplexing.² The Construct Aorist must originally have been always used before the noun which it governed; when its primitive significance was forgotten, however, the governed case was more commonly put before than after it;

¹ p. 56.

² See Driver, *Use of the Tenses in Hebrew*, Appendix ii.

indeed if the noun followed, the Objective Aorist was the form ordinarily preferred.

The mimimated or Energetic form of the Aorist was the more primitive one, and the southern dialect of Babylonia, in which phonetic decay had not proceeded so far as in the northern dialect of Assyria, made much use of it up to the last. But in northern Assyrian it is comparatively seldom found. In Assyrian no vowel ever followed the final *m*, and words like $\text{𐎶𐎵𐎶} \text{ 𐎶𐎵} \text{ 𐎶𐎵} \text{ 𐎶𐎵} \text{ 𐎶}$ must be read *uṣṣa-rva* (*uṣṣá-ră*) 'I brought forth and,' where the last syllable is the conjunction 𐎶 , and the *v* is doubled to show that the accent fell upon the preceding syllable. Consequently we have to go to Arabic, in which *yactulanna* seems to be older than *yactulân*, if we wish to make out that the mimimation primarily took the form of *-mma*.

The mimimated Aorist is used without any special sense or significancy being attached to it, though here and there we may perhaps detect a desire to increase the emphasis or solemnity of a statement by employing this form. The mimimation came to be lost with the wear and tear of centuries, and the simple vowel-endings *-u*, *-i*, and *-a*, were left alone, lengthened at first to compensate for the loss of the mimimation, and then made short. Finally the vowel-endings had themselves to make way for the contracted form of the Construct Aorist.

But by the side of the Construct Aorist we have another verbal form which Dr. Hincks was the first to point out, and which some Assyriologues have erroneously maintained to be an anomalous form of the Pael. I have before alluded to the double form and varying signification of the Ethiopic Aorist, the Imperfect *yëngër* standing by the side of the Subjunctive *yënágër*. Assyrian possesses exact counterparts of these two forms; and as in Ethiopic, so in Assyrian, the difference of form is accompanied by a difference of meaning. Besides the Aorist *iscun*, Assyrian has a Present *isaccin* or *isaccan*. The double consonant in the latter word merely denotes that the preceding vowel is accented, there being no other way of

denoting exceptions to the ordinary rule of accentuation; and *isaccin*, therefore, stands for *isácin*, which thus agrees in every respect with the Ethiopic *yénágër*.¹

Now if we find an *isácin* or *isácan* by the side of *iscun* (*iscin*), we may expect to find an *isácinu(m)* and an *isácina(m)* by the side of *iscunu(m)* and *iscuna(m)*. And such is the case. The forms *isácinum*, *isácinu*; *isácinim*, *isácini*; *isácina(m)*, *isácina*, occur repeatedly in the inscriptions as well as *isácin*.

I have called *isácin* a Present, and such is its actual force. Proofs of this are to be found in abundance. In fact, wherever the Accadian text has the present tense, formed by the addition of a vowel to the root, the Assyrian translation has to use the form *isácin*. A grammatical tablet (W. A. I. ii. 11), which gives a list of Accadian verbal forms with their Assyrian equivalents, makes this as clear as possible. Thus we have the Accadian aorist *in-lal* 'he weighed,' and *in-lal-es* 'they weighed,' rendered by the Assyrian *iskul* and *iskulu*, but the present *in-lale* 'he weighs,' and *in-lalene* 'they weigh,'

¹ The accentuation of Assyrian words agrees very remarkably in many particulars with that of Ethiopic, as described by Dr. Trumpp in the *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, vol. xxviii. 4 (1874). As a general rule, the accent, as in Arabic, is thrown back as much as possible, resting upon the antepenult unless the penult has a long vowel or is a closed syllable. To this general rule, however, there were many exceptions. Thus (1) The enclitic conjunction *vā* threw the accent back upon the preceding syllable, although it might be short, as *itsbatūni-va*. (2) The possessive pronouns of the 1st, 2nd, and 3rd persons when suffixed to a noun threw the accent back on the preceding syllable, as *panū-ca* 'thy face,' *ramanū-su* 'himself,' *ramanū-sun* 'themselves.' (3) The possessive pronoun suffixes of the verb, with the exception of the 2nd plural and the 3rd masc. sing., threw the accent back upon the preceding syllable, as *rašib-á-ni* 'pierce me,' *itticruh-d-ni* 'they were estranged from me,' *tucassipi-ni* 'thou (fem.) didst reveal to me,' *pitá-si* 'open for her.' A double accent is even permitted in *icsudá-sū-va* 'he conquered hiu, and.' (4) The vowel between the 1st and 2nd radical was accented in the present Kal, as *isácin*, *isácinu*. So, too, in the quadrilateral *ipardsid*. (5) The penult was accented in the 3rd person pl. masculine (? and feminine), as *itsbūtu* 'they seized,' *immáru* 'they were visible,' *ittanáru* 'they brought back,' *itúru* 'they returned.' (6) The present Kal of verbs ע'ל, as *iséri* (סרע), *isísi* (שפע). (7) The 3rd person sing. of the Subjective Aorist of Niphal and Kal, as *ippisidu* 'it was alleged,' *inúkhhu* 'it rested.' (8) Dissyllabic nouns whose 1st syllable was accented, the 2nd syllable being short, accented the 2nd syllable in the plural, as *nakháli* 'valleys,' *naciri* 'enemies,' in contradistinction to the genitive singular *nakhli* and *náeri*. (9) Certain nouns accented the penult like *agúru* 'cement,' *citstsilu* 'royal,' *barzilú* 'iron,' *cidínu* 'ordinance,' *cutúru* 'landmark,' *adínu* 'season,' *šulúmu* 'alliance.' Assyrian accentuation is a question of some importance, but, so far as I know, the only book that treats of it is my "Assyrian Grammar for Comparative Purposes." It is a matter of considerable difficulty to ascertain whether a double letter has an accentual or a grammatical origin.

by *isákal* and *isákalu*; the Accadian aorist *in-gar* 'he made,' and present *ingarri* 'he makes,' by the Assyrian *iscun* and *isácan*; the Accadian *in-gen* 'he established,' and *in-gene* 'he establishes,' by the Assyrian *yucin* and *yucan* (or rather *yuca'an*); the Accadian *in-kur* 'he was hostile,' and *in-kurri* 'he is hostile,' by the Assyrian *yūnaccir* and *yūnaccar*. The last two examples show how the distinction between the Aorist and Present was kept up in Kal in the case of verbs 𐎠𐎢 as well as in the derived conjugations with a preformative *u*. The distinction which had been first worked out in Kal was extended to the remaining conjugations, and since the larger number of verbs formed the Aorist in Kal with the vowel *i* in the last syllable, this vowel was taken to denote the Aorist, while *a* (which corresponded with the vowel of the second accented syllable of the Kal present) was taken to denote the present.¹

We have just seen that the difference between the Assyrian *iskul* and *isákal* answered exactly to the difference between the Accadian *in-lal* and *in-lale*. In fact Accadian, like other agglutinative languages, possessed two real tenses in our sense of the word, and only two, the Aorist and the Present; the Present being formed, as in Tibetan, by affixing a short vowel to represent the continuance of present time. Now the influence of Accad upon its Semitic neighbours was profound. From the Accadians the Assyrians and Babylonians learnt the elements of civilization, of art, and of science; from them, too, came the Assyrian Pantheon and mythology, and the Assyrian vocabulary was largely enriched with Accadian words. We have only to glance through the bilingual tablets to see how great the borrowing was. But so extensive an influence in the matter of the lexicon would lead us to infer that an influence must have been exercised on the grammar also. During the long period of time that elapsed while the Accadians and the Semites were in close proximity to one another, each acquainted with its neighbour's language,

¹ Another reason, however, may be found in the fact that Concave verbs necessarily formed their Kal aorist *icin* (for *icyin* = *icvin*) or *icur* (for *icvur*), and their present *ican* (for *icáyin* = *icávin*) or *icáyan*, and the distinction thus originated may well be supposed to have been extended by analogy to other verbs.

numerous interchanges of thought and expression must have taken place. Besides the words borrowed by the Semites from the Accadians, we find words borrowed by the Accadians from the Semites; and in one instance, in the prefixing of the pronouns to the verbal roots in place of their original postfixing, I believe we must trace Semitic influence. In the same way, I think the existence of two real tenses in Assyrian alone of the Semitic languages, where two existing forms of the Imperfect were utilised for the purpose, is to be explained. Accadian taught the Assyrian the difference between past and present time; translation into Accadian or out of Accadian was constantly bringing before his mind the fact of this distinction, and the need of finding some machinery whereby to express it in his own tongue; and accordingly the distinction of form between *iscun* and *isácin* became raised into a distinction of meaning. It will be remembered that Ethiopic also has adapted the two forms of the Imperfect to the representation of differences of signification; and Ethiopic, like Assyrian, was an outlying member of the Semitic group brought into close contact with non-Semitic neighbours.

We have seen above that in course of time a distinction of meaning came gradually to be felt between the older and the later forms of the Assyrian Aorist which I have called the Subjective and the Construct. It was the same also with the Present. Here, too, the Objective form (*isácana*) was preferred when an accusative followed the verb; but whereas the Perfect and Pluperfect force of *iscunu* was not always observed, the Subjective Present *isácanu* invariably had a Future sense. I therefore follow Dr. Hincks in terming it the Future. Instances of its use are plentiful enough. Wherever we have a future sense attached to the verb, there we have the form *isácinu* or *isácanu*. Thus a list of the possible injuries that a future miscreant might do, such as is given by Tiglath-Pileser I. (W. A. I. i. 16, 8, 63-73), contains a series of verbs like *ikhabbu'u* 'he shall conceal,' *isapanu* 'he shall hide,' *inadu'u* 'he shall lay,' *icatamu* 'he shall cover,' *ipasadhu* 'he shall erase,' *yusapracu* 'he shall cause to break.' A very

instructive example of the Future will be found in a hymn printed in W. A. I. iv. 8, 4, 2-7.

2. *ci isati appukhu¹ unakh*
as fire have I blazed; I rest :
3. *isati asrupu urāba*
(like) fire have I burned; I increase :
4. *sibri ucallu'u ucabbad*
the corn have I matured; I make heavy.
5. *cim isati appukhu unakkkhu*
like fire have I blazed; I will rest :
6. *isati asrupu urabbu'u*
(like) fire have I burned; I will increase :
7. *sibri ucallu'u uccabbadu*
the corn have I matured; I will make heavy.

It will be noticed that in most instances the Future follows a relative pronoun, and when we remember that this was also the case with the Subjective Aorist, we are led to suppose that the idea of futurity was originally evolved out of the relative sentence. However this may be, the Objective form *isácina* or *isácana* had no distinct and separate force of its own (as was the case with *iscuna*), and might be used instead of *isácinu*; thus in the list of futures quoted above from Tiglath-Pileser's inscription we meet with *ikhasása* 'he shall devise,' without any noun after it.²

With the elaboration of what we may term a Future Tense the Assyrian verb became complete. We must remember, however, that the idea of future time was not much more prominent in it than that of past time in the Subjective Aorist, and that while a temporal sense is to be discovered in both these forms, especially in the Future, it was not so clear and determinate as in the case of the Present *isácin*. It was the influence of the Accadian that had breathed the idea of time into the forms of the Assyrian verb, and enabled the Assyrian to add to the merely relational meaning of the Semitic verb a temporal meaning as well. Dr. Hincks's

¹ נפח.

² As the word is followed by the conjunction *va*, however, it is just possible that we should read *ikhasáavva*, where *áv* would stand for *á'u*, as in *ablu* 'son' (W. A. I. i. 51, 1, 16).

scheme of the Assyrian verb is fully borne out by a larger acquaintance with the inscriptions; he only erred in his interpretation of the facts.

We are now able to pass on to an inquiry into the origin of the two forms *iscun* and *isácin*. We must remember that just as the vowel of the last syllable of the Aorist might be either *a*, *i*, or *u* (*itsbat* 'he seized,' *irkhits*, 'it inundated,' *iscun* 'he made'), so the vowel of the last syllable of the Present might similarly be either *a*, *i*, or *u*. We must further remember that we have found *iscun* and *isácin* in no way distinguishable from the noun; in fact the varying forms of the two tenses can only be explained from the analogy of the noun. *Iscun* and *isácin*, so far as mere form goes, are each of them substantives. This is further apparent when we consider their plurals. Answering to *iscunum* and *iscunu* we have the 3rd pers. pl. *iscunūnum* and *iscunūnu*, which more frequently appear as *iscunūnim* and *iscunūni*, and now and then as *iscunūnam* and *iscunūna*. On the other hand answering to the apocopated *iscun* we have the contracted *iscunu*. Now the termination *-unu* (*-uni*, *-una*) also forms the plural of certain nouns, and the rarity of its occurrence is a mark of its antiquity. Thus by the side of *dilutu* 'buckets' is found *dilūnuv* (W. A. I. ii. 25, 11, 16); *datunu* also occurs as the plural of *datu* (W. A. I. ii. 48, *obv.* 15), and the pronouns *sunu*, *satunu*, etc., preserve the same plural form. It will be remembered that the *pluralis sanus* of masculine nouns in Arabic ends in *ūnā*, which differs from the termination of the 3rd pers. pl. of the verb (in *-ūnā*) only in the shortening of the final vowel. This shortening follows the general rule which we observe in *anā* 'I,' for *anā*, or in *kadhaltū* by the side of the Ethiopic *gabarcū*. Contraction has gone still further in the archaic Hebrew forms of the 2nd and 3rd pers. pl. of the Perf. and Imperf. like *תִּשְׁמְעוּן*, *יִרְצְוּן*, *יִרְכְּבוּן*, *יִרְעוּן* (Deut. viii. 3, 16), which find their analogues in Aramaic. Indeed the Syriac forms *nekdh'lunāchon* or *nekdh'lunāi(hi)* with suffixed pronouns preserve the original *-unā*. And the fact that this plural termination in

ן־, *ūnā* (of which the quiescent *alif* in the Arabic قَتَلُوا is a trace), is met with in the Hebrew and Aramaic Perfect as well as in the Imperfect, shows pretty plainly its substantival origin in both cases, since the Perfect has already been proved to have been an old noun. The matter is clenched when we find the Assyrian Permansive or Perfect occasionally terminating in the same way as the primitive Aorist; e.g. *tebūni* (W. A. I. i. 41, 44) 'they come,' by the side of *tebu*, and *tsabrūni* 'they collect' (W. A. I. i. 21, 76).

Now while a final *m* was preserved in Assyrian and Himyaritic, but changed into *n* in Arabic, *m* between two vowels, on the other hand, might maintain itself in Arabic though it became *n* in Assyrian. Consequently while Assyrian has *sumu* and *attunu* (*antunu*), old Arabic has *humū*, *antumū*, *kadhantumū*, just as we find *hōmū*, *wētōmū*, *antēmū*, *nagarcēmū* in Ethiopic, or מֹוֹ, הַמָּה in Hebrew. As I have pointed out in my "Assyrian Grammar for Comparative Purposes," the original plural ending was in *m*, not in *n*; the change of the labial into the nasal was the effect of phonetic decay.¹

Besides the ending in *-ūna*, which was confined to the nominative case, Arabic possessed an ending in *-īna*, which was appropriated to the oblique cases. It is very possible that we have here an instance of false analogy with the case-endings of the singular. But we must remember that a plural in ך־ is alone in use in Aramaic (as in גְּבַרִין 'men'), and that ך־ is the termination of the ordinary Hebrew plural. Even in Assyrian the southern dialect of Babylonia presents us with the form *cilālin* for *cilālan* 'omnia,' in the inscription of Khammuragas (i. 23), and the common masculine plural in *-i* or *-e* (= ך־), like the Hebrew construct plural שְׁנַיִם, presupposes a plural ך־. Now Assyrian makes it very clear that wherever the vowel *i* occurs, there is a presumption

¹ יִשְׂיָוּם (Is. xxxv. 1) might be quoted as an instance of the retention of the final *m* in Hebrew, but a more natural explanation of the word is that the final ך־ has been assimilated to the first letter of the following word מְדַבֵּר like כְּרִיּוֹם (Numb. iii. 49). Wetzstein, however, met with a Bedouin tribe which said *-um* for *-u*, e.g. *acatum* 'they have eaten.'

that it has been weakened from *a*; and this law of Assyrian phonology seems to be common to the phonology of the cognate dialects as well. Hence the several forms *-i* or *-e*, *-in*, *-ina*, and *-im*, presuppose an earlier form in *-āna* or *-ām*. And this form actually exists. Passing over the Hebrew פְּנִים and סְלָם, the usual plural of adjectives in Ethiopic and Himyaritic ends in *-an*, and even in Syriac we find *anakhnan* 'we,' *hynan* 'we.' But in Assyrian the termination *-ānu* (*-āni*, *-āna*) marked the primitive plural of nouns generally. In the inscriptions which we possess the use of this old plural has become much restricted, and many nouns like *šarrānu* 'kings,' or *matānu* 'countries,' were more commonly employed with the later plural forms *šarri* and *matātu*. The more ancient the language of an inscription, however, the more extended is the use of the plural in *-ānu*.

Now the same relation that the Aramaic masc. יְקַטְלוּ bears to the plural in *-ūnu*, the Aramaic fem. יְקַטְלוּ bears to the plural in *-ānu*. The original form of the fem. 3rd pers. pl. of the Perfect and Imperfect must have ended in *-ānu* (*-āni*, *-āna*), just as the original form of the masculine ended in *-ūnu* (*-ūni*, *-ūna*), and the Arabic and Hebrew יִקְטְלוּ and יְקַטְלוּ are merely contractions of this, the final ה of the Hebrew marking the primitive length of the vowel which compensated for the loss of the mimmation. The distinction between the masculine and feminine genders in the 3rd pers. plural of the two tenses of the Semitic verb was maintained simply by a difference in the vowel of the suffix.

I believe that it can be shown, however, that this distinction was not original, and that primitively no grammatical difference of gender was denoted by the difference of vowel. As we have seen above, not only masculine nouns like *šarru* 'king,' might be used in Assyrian with the old plural termination *-ānu*, but feminine nouns also, like *matāti* 'countries,' could be used with the same suffix. In fact many of the nouns which preserved the plural in *-ānu* down to the latest period of the Assyrian language were feminine, as is proved by their being employed with feminine adjectives. It is

clear, therefore, that the old plural in *-ānu* (*-āni*, *-āna*) was attached to all nouns indifferently, whether masculine or feminine; and in this way we can explain the origin of the abstract termination in *-ānu* (Heb. ׀—, ׀—, Arab. and Eth. *-ān*), the plural being regarded as an abstract (collective) singular, like neuter plurals in Aryan languages. We can also explain certain Assyrian plurals and collectives, which answer to Arabic *nomina abundantiae*, and affix the suffix *-ān* to the feminine suffix *-t*; e.g. *akhratān* 'the remainder,' *ebirtān* 'a ford' (literally 'a place where crossings are made,' from *ebirtu* 'a crossing,' עבר). The plural of the Samaritan plurals from 2 to 10 in הַיִּי may be compared with this Assyrian formation.

From all this it results that the plurals in *-ūnu* and *-ānu*, the latter being subsequently weakened to *-īna*, were used indifferently for nouns of all genders; but that in course of time, after the analogy of the 3rd personal pronoun *sū* 'he' (הוּא), and *sa* and *si* 'she' (היא), the difference of vowel came in certain cases to denote a difference of gender also. The two forms of the plural employed for the 3rd pers. plural of the two tenses of the verb were differentiated, as a need of expressing a difference of gender grew up, and so a merely phonetic distinction became a grammatical distinction. It is a phenomenon that is constantly occurring in the history of language. A distinction between the two genders seems to have been first expressed in the case of the 2nd person, and while the 1st person remained genderless until the rise of the modern dialects of Africa, the vocalic correspondence of the two forms of the 3rd person pl. to the two 3rd personal pronouns led to these two forms being set apart to express a similar difference of gender. When once this had been done, any further change could only come about through the action of phonetic decay. Just as the Construct or Apocopated Aorist lost its final case-vowels in the singular, so in the plural also the terminations in *-ūnu* and *-ānu* were first cut down to *-ūn* and *-ān*, and then shortened to *-u* and *-a*. The ordinary Assyrian Aorist has, accordingly, *iscunu* and *iscuna*

for the 3rd pl. like the Heb. יִקְטְלוּ, the Ethiopic *yëkbëlu* and *yëkbëlä*, and the Arabic يَكْتُلُوا, the same forms of course holding good for the Perfect as well. These forms are in strict analogy with the construct plural of Hebrew masculine nouns in ' (in Syriac '), which has become the common masculine plural in Assyrian just as the Construct Aorist has become the common form of the Aorist in the same language.

It is necessary to go at this length into the origin of the plural in order to prove beyond cavil the substantival character of the Semitic Imperfect tense. That the Perfect or Permanisive was originally a noun, to which the pronouns were attached in the 1st and 2nd persons, has been made clear, and it has now been shown that the 3rd person plural of the Imperfect is formed in exactly the same way as that of the Perfect—at least so far as suffixes are concerned; and we may therefore conclude that the origin of both must have been much the same. In fact the plural terminations of the 3rd person of the Imperfect are only explicable on the supposition that this person was originally regarded as a noun. What the Perfect was primarily, that also was the Imperfect; and just as the Perfect came to be used as a tense after the personal pronouns were affixed to the 1st and 2nd persons, so the imperfect passed from the category of noun to the category of verb after the pronouns were prefixed to the same persons.

Yakdhul, *yikdhol*, *ikdhil*, will consequently be the construct case of an old noun, of which the nominative was *yakdhulu(m)*. The vowel of the last syllable might be either *a*, *i* (*e*), or *u* (*o*), but whereas the difference of vowel has been adapted to express a difference between transitives and intransitives in Arabic, and to a certain extent in Hebrew, the three vowels are still used indifferently in Assyrian without distinction of meaning. Indeed euphony frequently determines the choice of the vowel; thus we have *itsbat* 'he took,' in the singular, but *itsbütu* in the plural (W. A. I. iii. 8, 57, 74). Now it is obvious that the Imperfect *yakdhulu*, plural *yakdhulunu*, cannot be distinguished, at all events in form, from such old substantives as יִצְחָק 'the laugher,' יָרִיב 'the adversary,'

קָטָן 'the little one,' יָצָהָר 'oil,' יָקוּם 'substance,' in Hebrew, or *ipdhiru* 'ransom' (פָּטָר), *ikubbu* 'a vault' (קִבְוָה), *ikribi* 'prayers' (קָרַב 'to draw near'), *edakhu* 'king,' and *ebillu* 'lord,' by the side of *dakhu* (רוּחַ) and *billu* (בַּעַל), *immiru* (= *imiru*) and *emartu* 'youngling,' by the side of *miru* (مِرَّةٌ), in Assyrian. In one word, *ilcacat* or *alcacat* 'stories,' we have an indication that the *i* has been weakened from *a* (unless the word comes from הִלַּךְ, like the Talmudic *halacha*), and this may be supported by such cases as *ennit*, the feminine of *annu* 'sin' (עֲנִי), or *ivesšir* for *ivásšir* (*ivásir*) 'he departed' (וָסַר), and *iptekid* for *iptakid* 'he inspected.' At any rate the prefixed *i* interchanges with *u* in *idhehmu* by the side of *udhāma* 'a lawgiver' (from טַעַם) (Naksh-i-Rustam, 35, etc.). If the prefix *i* be held to have come from a more original *a*, we shall then be able to trace back all nouns so formed to a formation with prefixed *a*, which has left its traces throughout most of the Semitic dialects. In Assyrian we have *acalutu* by the side of *calutu*, *aplušu* 'weight,' from פֶּלֶם, *azkuppū* 'a doorpost,' from זִקְוָה; in Hebrew intensives like אֶכְזָר 'cruel,' אֶכְזָב 'deceitful,' אֵיתָן 'constant'; and in Arabic such comparatives as أَفْجَحٌ 'more' or 'most beautiful,' أَحْسَنُ 'more' or 'most ugly.' When we remember that the Arabic *yakdhul* becomes *yikdhul* in Hebrew and *ikdhil* in Assyrian, we can easily understand the transition of *a* (for *ya*) into *i* (for *yi*). Dr. Donaldson¹ once pointed out—following herein the suggestion of Schultens² and Storr³—that the Hebrew עִבְרִי 'Hebrew man,' stands in the same relation to יְכִתָּב as עִבְרִיָּת 'Hebrew woman,' does to תְּכִתָּב, and there is something to be said for the theory. Arabic has *-iyyu(n)* instead of simple *-i*, as in مِصْرِيٌّ 'an Egyptian,' while Ethiopic has *-āwī* and *-āy* or *-āi* besides *-ī* (e.g. ገገጌጊ 'terrestrial,' ገገጌጊ 'robber'), Aramaic having only *-* in common use, as מְצַרִּי

¹ *Maskil le-Sopher*, p. 26. ² *Institutiones*, p. 275. ³ *Observationes*, p. 143.

‘an Egyptian.’ It is quite possible, however, that the vowel prefix with which we are dealing is of purely euphonic origin; indeed its connexion with the prefixed *u-* on the one side and the prefixed *a-* on the other seems to render such a supposition highly probable. In this case it finds its analogue in the prefixed *ä-* and *ī-* of the numerals, as in the Arabic *’ithnatain* (שְׁתַּיִם) or the Assyrian *irbittu* and *arba’i* or *irba’i*, and the Hebrew אַרְבַּע, אַרְבַּעַת, by the side of *riba’atu* ‘four’ (רבע). This prefixed vowel, like the prothetic vowel in Greek, merely serves to facilitate ease of pronunciation, and must originally have been used only before a double consonant at the beginning of a word. According to Wetzstein the Bedouin pronounces *kabalatu(n)* as *k’bālet*, and when in annexion as *arkābet*, and it is a well-known rule of Arabic phonology that a syllable cannot begin with two consonants the first of which is without a vowel. I am inclined to believe, therefore, that the old nouns with prefixed vowels which have given rise to the masculine 3rd persons sing. and pl. of the Imperfect took in the first instance those vowels only where a double consonant followed. In course of time the prefixed vowel was extended to other forms which began with a single consonant—this, perhaps, being at first a liquid, as in Greek,—and so we find *acalūtu* in the noun and *isācin* in the verb. It is no doubt remarkable that the prefixed vowel remained long, and it was on this account that in my *Assyrian Grammar*¹ I thought it necessary to separate it from the euphonic vowel prefix.

Thus far we have been dealing with the masculine third person; now, however, that this has been resolved into a noun, we may proceed to assume the same of the feminine 3rd person also. *Takdhulu*, Assyrian *tascunu* and *tasācinu*, presents us with a prefixed dental instead of a prefixed vowel. The theory has already been mentioned which would connect it with the termination of forms like עִבְרִית; and it is certainly very tempting to refer it to the suffixed dental (*t*) which characterizes the feminine throughout the Semitic lan-

¹ Pages 111 and 135.

guages. If we bear in mind that the formation of the Imperfect differs from that of the Perfect only in prefixing instead of affixing, we might argue that *tascunu* bears exactly the same relation to *sacnat* that *iscunu* does to *sacin*. As I have pointed out in my *Assyrian Grammar*,¹ the primitive feminine plural in תִּנּוּ (Ass. -*ātu*) must be explained by a contraction of -*āwath* for -*āmath*, according to the common phonetic law of Assyrian which changes *m* into *w* or *v* (especially between two vowels), so that the feminine suffix will have been attached to the plural ending in a thoroughly agglutinative fashion. This implies that there was a time in the history of Semitic grammar when the feminine suffix could be used as a separate word. If we were allowed to call in the aid of Old Egyptian and the sub-Semitic dialects of Africa, we could quote the Egyptian feminine article *ta* or *te*, which was used before a noun to denote the feminine as well as after it (e.g. *ta-nuter-t* 'the goddess,' as compared with *pa-nuter* 'the god'), or the Berber *theyyi* 'this' feminine by the side of *wayyi* masculine. *Tascunu* would be precisely parallel to the Egyptian *ta-pet* 'the people,' or *ta-āau* 'the old woman.' I am by no means convinced, however, of the Semitic affinities of Old Egyptian, and it is quite possible that the form *tascunu* is really to be classed with Tiphel nouns like תְּנַמּוּל in Hebrew, *takattulu(n)* or *takātulu(n)* in Arabic, or *tamkhatu* 'battle' (מַחָץ), *taslitu* 'request' (שָׁאֵל), and *tasmeatu* 'hearing' (שָׁמַע), in Assyrian. Nouns so formed are all abstracts and of the feminine gender, and though I do not see my way to connecting the feminine suffix with the dental characteristic of such conjugations as Iphtel or Hithpael, I believe that the appropriation of Tiphel nouns to the feminine gender was occasioned by the likeness of their prefix to the sign of the feminine. At any rate the feminine abstract noun *tascunu* gives us an irreproachable original for the feminine 3rd person of the Imperfect.

We must not forget, however, that a good number of masculine nouns in Assyrian formed their plural in -*ātu* like

¹ Page 123.

the Hebrew masculines in תי-, and that the feminine singular abstracts which end in the same way in Assyrian are probably transformed masculine plurals regarded as abstract collectives. Ethiopic bears evidence to an old demonstrative *tu* 'hic,' *ti* 'hæc,' with an accusative *ta*, which has been preserved in *wě-tu* 'he,' *yě-ti* 'she,' *ěmun-tu* 'them,' *zentu*, *zāti*, *zanta*, 'this,' etc.,¹ and it is possible, though not probable, that we may compare the Arabic feminine demonstrative *tih*, *tihī*, *ti* (dual *tani*, pl. *taini*). The Ethiopic forms agree with the longer Assyrian forms of the personal pronouns, *sunutu* (-*ti*, -*ta*) and *sinatu* (-*ti*, -*ta*), by the side of *sunu* and *sina*, or *yatu*, *yāti*, *yata*, 'myself,' where the suffix cannot be separated on the one side from the termination of feminine abstracts like *tucultu* 'help' (for *tuculātu*), or on the other side from the Ethiopic *wě-tu* [= *huwě-tu*] and *ye-ti* [= *hiyě-ti*].

It now only remains to consider the 1st and 2nd persons of the imperfect tense. As these were formed in the Perfect by the affixing of the personal pronouns, so they are formed in the Imperfect by the prefixing of the same pronouns. In the singular the 𐎠 of the first person may be regarded as the personal pronoun that meets us in the Assyrian *yā-ti*, the Hebrew 𐤀𐤍 and the Arabic and Ethiopic *an-a*, as well as in the suffixed first personal pron. -*ya* (-*a*, -*i*), rather than as a shortened form of *acu* (*an-acu*, 𐎠𐎡𐎢). The first syllable of the 2nd personal pron. has been dropped in the 2nd person sing. and pl., just as the second syllable of the pronoun was dropped in the 2nd pers. sing. of the Perfect; and as the same fact is observed in the case of the 1st person, we may conclude that the personal pronouns were prefixed to the base of the imperfect before they had become completely agglutinated to the base 𐎠. In the plural the 2nd personal pron. has been naturally prefixed to the plural form of the noun which it turns into a tense; somewhat strangely it does not appear that the 1st person plural ever possessed a plural termination.

I have thus endeavoured to show, with the help of Assyrian, that the two primary tenses of the Semitic verb were

¹ Dillmann, *Grammatik d. Aeth. Sprache*, p. 261.

at the outset nothing but nouns, with which the first two pronouns came to be closely united, and so caused them gradually to assume a verbal signification. As in the Aryan languages the noun presupposes the verb, so on the other hand in Semitic the verb presupposes the noun. The native grammarians have in each case had a sure and accurate perception of the real fact. The Hindu grammarians traced the words of Vedic Sanskrit to verbal roots, while Semitic grammarians have equally clearly insisted that the Semitic verb is but a transformed noun. Thus Dr. Lee¹ quotes from Kimchi: "The noun precedes the verb, for the verb proceeds from the noun; and they say that the noun is like the body, the subject of accident, but that the verb is the accident only;" and again from Ibn ul-Fiham: "The noun itself will, without any verb, carry with it a complete idea; and this shows that the verb is a branch of the noun and is sustained by it. In another respect, the verbs are, according to the most accurate of our writers, derived from the *masdars*, which are nouns, and these as so derived are branches of them."² Up to the last the Hebrew tenses expressed relation rather than time; and Mr. Turner, in his "Studies Biblical and Oriental" (p. 376), very acutely draws attention to the fact that the affixing of the pronouns in the Perfect makes the verbal root prominent to the speaker, in accordance with the general Semitic law which places the defined word before the defining, while the prefixing of the pronouns in the Imperfect lays the stress upon the pronoun subject, from which he would infer that the Perfect expresses a fact, the Imperfect the activity underlying a fact. There are many languages still spoken in which the idea of the verb has not yet been arrived at. This is characteristically the case with the Polynesian dialects; the Dayak, for example, says, 'he-with-jacket-with-white,' where we should say, 'he has a white

¹ See his "Hebrew Grammar," pp. 83, 181, and in the *Journal of Sacred Literature*, July, 1850, p. 195.

² See Olshausen, "Heb. Lehrb." p. 22; Merx, "Grammatica Syriaca," p. 197; Philippi, "Wesen und Ursprung d. Stat. Constr." p. 169; Turner "Studies Biblical and Oriental," p. 365 sq., who also refers to Koch, "Der Semitische Infinitiv," p. 5.

jacket on.’¹ Similarly in the polysynthetic languages of North America the multitudinous forms of the verb denote not time but personal relations. There was a period also in the history of Semitic speech when no verb existed, and except where foreign intercourse was at work a temporal signification always remained absent from it. In Assyrian contact with Accadian produced a distinction of past and present time between the forms *iscun* and *isácin*, and to a less degree between *iscun*, *iscunu* and *isácinu*, while the definite past came to be denoted by prefixing the particle *lū* ‘then’; in Ethiopic a similar foreign contact originated a distinction of meaning between *yĕgbar* and *yĕgábēr*; in Arabic a past tense was formed by the help of the prefix *kad*, like *wad’a* in Ethiopic;² in Hebrew a pluperfect was denoted by interposing the subject between the copulative conjunction and the perfect, and in later Hebrew the future by combining the infinitive with **עָתִיד**, **זָמַן**, **קָאִים** or **אִתִּימוֹס** (*ἔτοιμος*), and the past by combining the participle with **הָיָה**; while in Aramaic we have the *tempus stans* or *durans* as well as a future formed as in later Hebrew by substituting **לְ** for the ordinary preformative of the imperfect. The two chief tenses of the Turkish verb are a striking commentary on what I have endeavoured to show was the origin of the Semitic perfect and imperfect. In this language the 3rd person of the present is the bare form of the present participle with the plural suffix attached in the plural, the pronouns being postfixed in the other two persons, while the 3rd person of the Aorist is an abstract substantive to which the pronouns are affixed in the 1st and 2nd persons. Thus *dogur* is ‘striking’ and ‘he strikes,’ *dogur-lar* ‘strikers’ and ‘they strike,’ *dogur-um* ‘I strike,’ *dogd* ‘a striking’ and ‘he struck,’ *dogd-ler* ‘strikings’ and ‘they struck,’ *dogd-um* ‘I struck.’

There is now little that remains for me to notice. If the

¹ See Steinthal, *Charakteristik der hauptsächlichsten Typen des Sprachbaues*, pp. 156-176.

² Dillmann, *Grammatik*, p. 136.

masculine 3rd person of the perfect *sacin* were originally a *nomen agentis*, the fem. 3rd person *sacnat* would be simply the feminine of that *nomen agentis*. The termination of the 2nd person fem. sing. of the imperfect, *tascuni*, *tikdhēli*, *taktulīna*, is more difficult to account for. When we remember, however, that שָׁרִי is an early dialectal variation of שָׁרָה (that is, שָׁרַת, Ass. *šarratu*), and that *a* in Assyrian, as in the cognate idioms, readily passes into *i*, we may perhaps allow that the final vowel of the form in question may be a weakened representative of the feminine suffix. *Tascunātu* and *tascunāt* would then have stood by the side of *tascunu* and *tascun*, and, considering that in Assyrian itself the fem. suffix *-ātu* very frequently becomes *-etu* (תְּיַ) and even *-ītu*, there is no difficulty in deriving *tascuni* from it. As the final *-i* is found in all the Semitic grammars, it is plain that the imperfect tense must have been fully formed before their separation. As for the Arabic *taktulīna*, and the corresponding Heb. and Aramaic *tikdhēlin*, this has probably arisen from an inaccurate assimilation to the plural.

The Imperfect, like the Perfect and all classes of nouns, originally possessed a dual. I have tried to show in my *Principles of Comparative Philology*¹ that the dual in all languages precedes the plural, but with the development of culture and civilization tends to disappear. The Semitic dual came in course of time to be restricted to those nouns which denoted couples (like the 'hands' or 'eyes'), and it is only with nouns of this kind, therefore, that we may expect to find it used in the verb. Examples of its employment in Assyrian are not very common, partly because the number of nouns which preserve the dual is not great, partly because the resemblance of the dual termination to that of the feminine plural caused the latter to be often substituted for it. Originally *-a'anu*, the dual ending, came to be contracted to *-ā* in Assyrian, just as the feminine plural of the imperfect was contracted to *-ā*. Thus we have the common phrase

¹ pp. 273-285 (second edition).

away' is an interesting instance of the older and fuller form of the plural in the Precative.¹

Nor need I linger over a common Assyrian idiom that reminds one somewhat of the *waw conversive* in Hebrew. To express the result of a previous action the Assyrians used the construct aorist preceded by the copulative conjunction and the subjective aorist. Thus $\text{𐎶𐎵} \text{ } \text{𐎶𐎵} \text{ } \text{𐎶𐎶𐎶} \text{ } \text{𐎶𐎶𐎶} \text{ } \text{𐎶𐎶𐎶} \text{ } \text{𐎶𐎶𐎶} \text{ } \text{𐎶𐎶𐎶} \text{ } \text{𐎶𐎶𐎶}$ *its-ba-tu-u-niv-ra e-mu-ru* (= *itsbatūni-rā emuru*) is 'when they had taken they saw' (literally 'they had taken and they saw'). The perfect (permansive) sometimes takes the place of either one of these tenses; thus we have *sina vussura-va ramanū-sun ittanallaca* 'they were abandoned and got themselves hastily away' (W. A. I. i. 42, 11, 12) as well as *urukh Accadi itsbatūni-rā ana Babila tebūni* 'the road of Accad they took and to Babylon came.' This conjunctive *rā* (𐎶𐎶) has carefully to be distinguished from the pronoun *mā* (properly written $\text{𐎶𐎶} \text{ } \text{𐎶𐎶}$) 'this,' 'as follows,' as in the sentence *cī ina Kummukhi utsbacu-ni dhēmu yutterūni mā* ($\text{𐎶𐎶} \text{ } \text{𐎶𐎶}$) *al S'uru sa Bit-Khalupē ittapalcat* 'when in Comagene I was stopping the news they brought back as follows: the city of S'uru of Bit-Khalupe is in revolt' (W. A. I. i. 18, 74, 75).

I have now performed the task which I set before myself, and have endeavoured to show by the help of the Assyrian inscriptions (1) that Dr. Hincks was right in the distinctions he pointed out in the use of the Assyrian tenses, though wrong in the explanations he gave of them, and (2) that as regards the 1st and 2nd persons, the Semitic perfect originated in the attachment of the personal pronouns to a noun, and especially to the *nomen agentis*, while the Semitic imperfect originated at an earlier period in the prefixing of the personal pronouns to an abstract noun. The stereotyped character of the literary language of Assyria allows us actually to watch the genesis and growth of the perfect tense. The fact that Assyrian agrees with Ethiopic and Mehri in forming the 1st person by the pronoun *-acu*, while the other

¹ So, too, *listapparūni* 'may they send' (Smith's *Assur-bani-pal*, p. 188, r), which is an example of an *Iphtael*.

Semitic languages employ another pronoun *-tu*—which afterwards became *ti*, and stood possibly in the same relation to the 2nd person *-ta* and *ti* as *su* (𐎲𐎠𐎫) to *sa* and *si* (𐎲𐎠𐎢)—seems to imply that Aramaic, Arabic and Hebrew separated from Assyrian while the perfect was still in the process of formation. Indeed certain phenomena of comparative Semitic grammar incline me to believe that the accepted division of the Semitic stock into Northern and Southern must be given up, and that the truer theory would be to regard Aramaic, Arabic and Hebrew as splitting off from Assyrian after the separation of the latter from Southern Arabic (Ethiopic, etc.) and forming a single group for a time, Aramaic being the first to break off from the other two, and Arabic following next, to be brought afterwards under South-Arabic influence just as Hebrew (Phœnician) was under Assyrian. However this may be, it has, I think, been made quite clear that the Semitic verb has grown out of the noun. Such a fact is only in accordance with the statements of the native grammarians themselves, and is a fresh illustration of the radical difference that exists between the two chief representatives of the inflectional family of speech, the Aryan and the Semitic.

¹ The attempt to identify (*a*)*cu* and *tu* is unsatisfactory, partly because forms like the Assyrian *badhlac* as well as a comparison of *an-acu* and *an-ta* (*atta*) imply that the initial vowel originally formed part of the pronoun-suffix, partly because an interchange of 𐎠 and 𐎡 in Semitic has never been satisfactorily made out. Ethiopic, as well as Assyrian, bears testimony to the existence of an old demonstrative *tu*, *ti*, *ta*, *tu* in Ethiopic meaning 'he,' 'he' (as in *wē-tu*) and *ti* 'hæe,' 'she' (as in *yē-ti*). The Assyrian *yā-tu* shows that this pronoun could be suffixed to the first person as well as to the third (*sunu-tu*, *sina-tu*), and I am therefore inclined to suggest that *tu* was primitively an independent word which might be used for either one of the 3 persons, but that after a time, in accordance with the analogy of the 3rd person *su* 'he,' and *sa* or *si* 'she,' *tu* came to be restricted to the 1st person and *ta* and *ti* to the second. It is quite in agreement with Semitic character to regard the second person as weaker than the first. Of course before this employment of *tu* and *ta* (*ti*) came about, *su* and *sa* (*si*) would have been appropriated to the expression of the 3rd person. If Dr. Schrader is right in his view of the Assyrian *yā-si* 'myself,' and *cunu-si* 'your,' the ordinary 3rd personal pronoun would have been used as a suffix of the 1st and 2nd pronouns just like *tu* (*ti*). In Japanese the same word may stand for all 3 persons, and the German *er*, like the Highlander's *she*, may be used for the 2nd person, as well as under certain circumstances for the first. If the suggestion I have thrown out be correct, the Semites would have employed *tu* as well as *ya* and *acu* for the 1st personal pronoun before their separation and before the creation of a Perfect tense.

ART III.—*An Account of the Island of Bali.*

By R. FRIEDERICH.

[Continued from Vol. VIII. n.s. p. 218.]

THE CREATION.

ACCORDING to the *Brahmândapurâna*, where the world is created from an egg (*anda*), four beings come first into existence, through the penance performed by Brahmâ; two of these are *Sananda* and *Sanatkumâra*, and the other two are not named. Then the heavens, the rivers, the sea, the mountains, plants, shrubs, time, etc., come into existence. He (Brahmâ) further creates the *Devarsis* (the divine *Rĕsis*), *Marĭchi*, *Brĕgu*, *Anggira*, *Pulastyâ*, *Pulaha*, *Kratu*, *Daksa*, *Atri*, *Wasista*. It is not till he has done this that he creates the *Paramesvara* (the Supreme Lord; a name for Siva); the latter is at once regarded as Brahmâ's grandfather! He is called *Bawa* (nature); *Sarwa* (all); *Īsa* (lord); *Bima* (the terrible one); *Mahâdeva* (the great god). His body consists (1) of *Āditya-Sarĭra* (sun-body); (2) *Wesarĭra* (water-body); (3) *Bâyusarĭra*; (4) *Agnisarĭra* (fire-body); (5) *Ākâsa* (the higher invisible heaven); (6) *Mahâpandita* (the great Pandita); (7) *Chandra* (the moon); (8) *Batara Guru* (the teacher). He is therefore called *Astatanu* (with eight bodies). He must be worshipped through the *Sâdaka* (the full priest, or the performer of the ceremonies). *Kalpa* (form) and *Darma* (justice) are children of Brahmâ, sprung from his spirit. It is stated here from which parts of the body of Brahmâ the *Devarsis* came forth.

The lord then created the *gods* (*Devas*), the *Asuras* (evil spirits), the *Pitris* (shades), and man. In the manuscript we have *Manusyako*, which I think should be *Manusyân*. He also creates out of his own body the *Yaksa* (a sort of demon); *Pisâcha* (lemures); *Uraga* (the serpents which are worshipped); *Gandarwa* (heavenly musicians); *Apsaras* (the heavenly female dancers); *Gana* (the hosts, whose

leader is Ganapati); *Kinnara* (elves); *Râksasa* (demons); and finally the animals (*pasu*).

Then the four castes are created: the *Brâhmanas*, out of Brahmâ's mouth; the *Xatriyas*, out of his arm; the *Wesyas* (*Waisyas*), out of his thigh; and the *Sûdras*, out of his foot. Then *Darma* (the *Darma* already mentioned above), and *Ahingsâ* (husband and wife), *justice* and *the sparing of everything that is alive*; these are the two principal virtues of the Buddhists. It appears, therefore, that in the ancient combination of Brahmanism and Buddhism in Java, Buddhistic doctrines crept even into the *Brahmândapurâna*. I cannot say for certain, however, whether these are not found in the Indian *Brahmândapurâna* as well, this work being hitherto but little known to Europeans. (There are many repetitions in the manuscript.) Then *Scayambuwa Manu* ("the first *Manu*";—the *Manus* govern the world during a certain period, *kalpa*, "from the one creation to the other") and *batâri Satarûpa* are created; they beget the *batâri Ratih*, the wife of *Kâma*, the god of love. Then follows the genealogy of the race of *Scayambuwa Manu* and their relationships with the nine *Devarsis*. The descendants include twelve *Yamas*, and *Laksmî* (in India *Wishnu's* wife). *Buddha* is the son of *Buddi* (the understanding). The rest of this race are attributes of nature, of the mind, the heart, and also the body. *Nîlalohita* (*Siva*) has a thousand children (the *Sahasra Rudra*). *Srî* is the daughter of the *Devarsi Brëgu*, married to *Wishnu*; their children are *Bala* and *Buddana*. *Saraswatî* is the wife of *Pûrnamâsa* (the full moon). *Agni* is the son of *bagawân Anggira* and *Smrëti* (tradition); among his descendants is *Parjania* (the god of rain). The holy *Pulaha* is the ancestor of the *Xatriya Daha* (the warrior-caste of *Daha* or *Kediri*); this royal family, represented in Java in *Majapahit*, and in Bali in the race of the *Deva Agung*, thus derives its origin from a *Devarsi*, and ought properly to belong to the Brahman caste. They are the grandchildren of *Kamya* and *Priyabrata*.

The 60,000 *Bâlakilyas*, who are all *Brahmachâri*, *i.e.* students of the *Vedas* (compare the 60,000 *Sagarides* in the *Bâlakanda* of the Indian *Râmâyana*), are children of *Krëtu*

and *Sannati*. Besides a great number of other mythological personages, who do not appear in the religious worship, but are sacred to the Brahmans, we find here the seven *Rësis*, who existed in the time of *Uttama Manu*, the second successor of *Swayambuwa Manu*; they are *Râja*, *Batra* (Badra), *Urddabâhu*, *Lawana*, *Anaya*, *Satapa*, and *Saka*, and are descended from the *Devarsi Vasista*.

We give here a few examples from the original:

Agre sasarjja bagawân mânasam âtmanah samam.

“In the beginning the holy one created the soul, which was like unto himself.” This is explained thus: mayoga batâra Brahmâ m'tu tang Resi patang siki sang Nandana, Sanatkumâra. “*Batâra* Brahmâ held the *yoga* (was sunk in meditation), thereby originated the *Rësis*, four in number: *sang Nandana* and *Sanatkumâra*.” The other two are not named; according to the Indian tradition, however, *Sannanda* (*sic*) and *Sanatkumâra* are two of the four firstborn sons of Brahmâ. It still remains to be investigated whether the sons of Brahmâ are representatives of the (world-)soul, which with the means at present at my disposal I am not in a position to do.

Tatwa-srëjat punah Brahma.

“After that Brahma created again.” Here follows in the Balinese commentary the creation of Siva, and an enumeration of his different characteristics and bodies. *This then appears to be an interpolation into the original work*; the Sanskrit text says nothing about it, and this creation is certainly not in its proper place. *But with a sect such as that in Bali, Siva could not be created later on, without losing importance*; therefore advantage was taken of the Sanskrit words, which scarcely any one understood, to glorify Siva by means of an incorrect commentary. *Tatwa* has been formed here out of *tato-asrëjat*; the *a* has not been elided, but has been altered with the preceding *o* into *wa*; in the Sanskrit the word should be *tato-srëjat*. This *Tatwa* occurs again in the next half-sloka, but there it can only be explained by *tathâ* “so,” “in the same manner.”

Tatwa devasurapitrên manusyako-srëjat prabu.

“So also the Lord created the gods (*Deva*), the *Asuras*, the *Pitara*, mankind.”

In *Manusyako* (see above) there must be an error; *mânusyaka* is “a multitude of men,” but this does not suit either the sense or the metre in this passage; had it to be brought into the metre, it would be *manusyakam asrêjat prabuh*, which gives a syllable too many; moreover the *t'dung* (the sign of the long â) is wanting in the manuscript. We have altered the Sanskrit text into *manusyâncha* “and the men (mankind),” which agrees admirably with the sense, and leaves the metre undisturbed. Our passage is reproduced in the Balinese commentary thus:

Muwah mayoga batâra Brahma, mijil sang deva sura pitrê manusâ, tuhun sangkanika mijil saking manah hikang deva, ring lambung sangkaning pitrê, ring pasva sangkaning manusa, jagana sangkaning Asura.

“And further was *batâra* Brahma sunk in meditation; thereby came into existence the *Devas*, *Asuras*, *Pitaras*, and mankind; the place whence they sprung (out of his body) was: the *Devas* came forth out of his mind (*manas*); the *Pitaras* out of the hollow under his arm; man out of his side (for *pasva* we must read *parswa*); his thigh was the place whence the *Asuras* came forth.”

The time also when they came into existence is stated, and this certainly has an astronomical meaning, since in India also the *Devas* and *Asuras* play an important part in astronomy (see Bentley on the Indian Astronomy). The *Asuras* are born at *noon*, man in the *morning*, the *Devas* at *midnight*, and the *Pita-Pitara* (the worshipped shades of the departed) in the *evening*.

We will add a brief sketch of the survey of the world as it appears in the *Brahmândapurâna*.

The world is divided into seven *Dwîpas* (islands): *Puskaradwîpa* (the lotus-island), *Kronchadwîpa*, *Kusadwîpa*, *Sangkadwîpa* (Skt. *Sâkadwîpa*), *Sâlmalidwîpa*, *Plaksadwîpa*, *Jambudwîpa*. The last, the island of the *Jambu*-fruit, is India and the adjoining countries. All these islands are surrounded by the ocean, and lie round about *Meru*, the

centre of the earth, like lotus-leaves. The islands are under the rule of the grandsons of *Svayambuwa Manu*, the first of the seven *Manus*, who govern the earth for the space of a *kalpa*, a long period of time (see below). They are named *Savana*, *Jutiman*, *Wapusmanta*, *Medâtiti*, *Gomeda*, *Arya* and *Agnîndra*. The last rules over *Jambudvîpa*. *Jambudvîpa* itself is divided into nine *varsas*, more or less distant from *Meru*, which is sometimes to be regarded as the north pole, and sometimes as the centre of the earth; great ranges of mountains, mostly fabulous, divide these *varsas* from each other. The children of *Agnîndra* are (1) *Nabi*, (2) *Kimpurusa*, (3) *Harivarsa*, (4) *Ilâvrëta*, (5) *Ramyaka*, (6) *Hiranyaka*, (7) *Kuru*, (8) *Badra*, (9) *Ketumâla*. Most of these nine also give their names to the *varsas*, over which they preside. (1) The land (the *varsa*) of *Nabi* is to the south of the *Himavân* (*Himâlaya*); this is therefore India proper. (2) Between *Himavân* and *Hemakûta* (the golden peak) is *Kinnaravarsa*, under the prince *Kimpurusa*. The *Kinnaras* or *Kimpurushas* (literally "what sort of man") are barbarous nations in the north of India, represented with horses' heads; they are a sort of centaur, and indicate the nomadic equestrian nations of the north (in *Tartary*). The *Hemakûta* is a mountain range to the north of the *Himâlayas*, in *Tibet*; it is not loftier than the *Himâlayas*, but is represented as being so. In this range also is the fabulous *Kailâsa*, *Siva's* seat. (3) *Nesadawarsa*; *Nesada* is a range of mountains to the east of *Hemakûta* and south of *Ilâvrëta*. A country in the south-east of India also bears the name of *Nis'ad'a*, well known through its prince *Nala* (*Naiš'ad'a*, in the *Mahâbhârata*;—the episode is published by Bopp). Here, however, we have to do with the northern *Nis'ad'a*, of which *Harivars'a* is prince. (4) *Ilâvrëta* (or *Hilâvrëta*) the name of prince, country, and mountain range. This is the highest and most central range on the earth, according to Indian ideas; *Meru*, the highest mountain and the seat of the gods, is situated in it. (5) The region north of *Ilâvrëta* and *Nilaparvata*, called *Ramyaka* or *Nilavars'a*. *Nilaparvata*, the blue mountains, are as mysterious as

Ilâvrëta with *Meru*; we do not find either in the position indicated by the Indians, but we may perhaps suppose the Aryans (*Árya*, the Indian), who descended to the plains of India from the mountainous regions of the north-west, to have brought with them some knowledge of the ranges (Altai, Caucasus) of northern and western Asia. (6) *Hiranyakavars'a* to the north of *S'vetaparvata* (the white mountains, northwards of *Nilaparvata*). (7) *Kuruvars'a* to the north of the *S'renggavân* range; this is the *Uttara-Kuru*, the most northern and the coldest land, but the land whence the Aryans appear originally to have come. According to the Zend-myth, it was in ancient times a fertile, inhabitable land, and was changed into a cold wilderness by *Ahriman* (the evil spirit). In this may perhaps be recognized a trace of a remembrance of the changes which have taken place in the climates of our earth, such as that to which the fossil bones found in Siberia bear witness. (8) *B'adravars'a*, to the west of the *Mályawân* (the flowery mountain), which itself lies to the east of the *Meru*. *B'adravars'a* is thus by the side and to the eastward of the great chains of mountains. (9) *Ketumâlâ* dwells to the east of mount *Gandamâdana* (delightful to the smell). This is the country lying to the west of the other *Vars'as* (Persia?). We, therefore, have (1) India proper, as far as the Himâlayas; (2) the region between the Himâlayas and *Hemakûta* (Tibet); (3) the region between *Hemakûta* and *Ilâvrëta* (with *Meru*); in our enumeration this is No. 4 (Tartary, Mongolia?); (4) the region to the north of *Nilaparvata*, north-east of the *Meru* (Eastern Mongolia, Manchuria?); (5) the region to the north of *S'vetaparvata*, north of the previous country (Eastern Siberia?); (6) *Uttara-kuru* (northern and western Siberia to the Arctic Ocean). These six form almost a continuous series from south to north, with the *Meru* as a centre. Then come to the east *Nilavar'sa* (China?) and *B'adravars'a*, and to the west *Ketumâlavars'a* (Persia and the western regions). Concerning the rest of the *vars'as* nothing further is mentioned; the narrative proceeds to enumerate the princes who ruled in India proper, descendants of *Nabi*,

the eldest son of *Agnîndra*.¹ *Nabi* is an Emperor, the universal ruler; he is also a *Xatriya*. From *Nabi* and his wife *Manudevî* are descended successively (1) *Res'aba*, (2) *B'arata*, who dwells south of the *Himavân* in *B'aratavars'a*, (3) *Sumati*, (4) *Tejasa*, (5) *Indradyumna*, (6) *Paramesti*, (7) *Pratihara*, (8) *Pratihars'a*, (9) *Unnata*, (10) *B'awa*, (11) *Mudgita*, (12) *Pras'astawi*, (13) *Wib'u*, (14) *Prëtu*, (15) *Nakta*, (16) *Gaja*, (17) *Jara*, (18) *Wirât*, (19) *Dîman*, (20) *Mahan*, (21) *Bochara*, (22) *Tos't'a* (*Tus'ta*), (23) *Wiraja*, (24) *Râja*, (25) *Tus* (!). These are the *Xatriyas* (princes) in the second great period of the world's existence, *Tretayuga*. Several of these names are those of the *Jaina-deities*; the *Jainas* are disguised Buddhists, who still exist in India. These names give us a hint towards the comprehension of Buddhism in Java. Were the Buddhists of Java *Jainas*, and have we to attribute to that sect the union of the Buddhistic and Sivaitic religions and doctrines in Java and Bali? The *Jainas* at any rate worship the Brahmanical gods besides the *Jinas*, and have even retained the institution of the castes, in order to protect themselves from the persecutions of the followers of Brahma.

Under *Srayambura Manu* there are further eleven *Rudras* (see the feast of *Ekadas'arudra*), 12 *Âditias* (the twelve solar months), eight *Basus* (Sanskrit *Wasu* or *Wasudeva*), twelve *Sad'ias*, ten *Wis'wadewas*, two *Sanggis* (?), twelve *Bârgawas*. And further there are the *Devas*, *Asuras*, *Gand'arvas*, *Yaksas*, *Pis'âchas*, *Râksasas*; these are immortal, it is true, but yet are born again. Their lifetime and that of man varies according to the different *yugas* (*Latia* or *Krëta*-, *Treta*-, *Dwâpara*-, *Kaliyuga*), and gradually decreases. In the *Tretayuga* man attains the age of 188 years, at the close of the *Tretayuga* 147, in the *Dwâparayuga* 126, at the close of the same 105, and in the *Kaliyuga* only 84. The lifetimes of the inferior gods differ in the same proportion. The *anggulas* (inches) are given as the measure of time, but at present I am without any ex-

¹ *Agnîndra*, the lord of fire, points to the ancient religion of the Indians and Persians; both worshipped fire and the sun. See the Vedas and Zendavesta.

planation of their astronomical meaning. Hereupon the work speaks of the *Manvantaras*, the periods of time in which a *Manu* governs; these are also called *kalpa*, and they contain seven *chaturyugas*; according to the work this appears to be the time of one *Manu*, but the latter is really but one *chaturyuga* (a combination of the four *Yugas*, a *Kalpa*); there are, however, seven *Manus*, and the seven *chaturyugas* are, in fact, the time of the duration of the world. After each *kalpa* or *chaturyuga* the world is destroyed and created again.

Here follows a description of Chaos. *Manu* alone was in existence. He (not Brahma) then creates a series of beings; *Dewa*, *Resi*, *Asura*, *Pitrë*, *Manusa*, *Bûta*, *Pisâcha*, *Gandarva*, *Yaksa*, and *Râksasa*. *Manu* is called here *Sumantia* (?) and *sang Sista* (the instructor). He instructs¹ the beings, who through his penance have come into existence, in the *Sadâchâra* (the right conduct); this consists of *lobâdeya* (*loba* "greedy desire," sensuality, covetousness, and *âdeya* probably from *âdâ*, sumere, tollere; thus "the putting away of greedy desire"); *ksâma* (patience), *satia* (truth, truthfulness), *widiâ* (knowledge), *ijyâ* (the making of offerings), *dâna* (alms-giving). The attributes of the *Sadâchâra* are seven in number (*Saptekanî charitrâni*).

The stages in the life of a Brahman are also given: (1) *Brahmâchâri*, he who lives as a pupil with his *Guru*; (2) *Grêhastâ*, the head of a family, the married man, whose duty it is to exercise the *darma* (right); this consists principally in rearing a son, who must make offerings for his forefathers (*Pitara*), and in hospitality; (3) *Wekânasa*, the hermit in the forest-hermitages (*âsrama*); (4) *Yati*, an ascetic, who has brought into subjection all that is sensuous, and only occupies himself with *yoga* (meditation). They are also called in India *Sanniâsi*, and are saints. The *Yati* is further called *Sâdaka*; this word, which is also used as a title of the *Padandas*, is not found in Wilson, but *Sâdhana* means, among other things, *accomplishment*, and *good works*,

¹ He is here the *Guru*; the deity (*Siva*) appears in Java and Bali chiefly in this character.

or the moral doctrine and the ceremonies of the Hindu religion, as a means for attaining purity and release from the transmigration of the soul. *Sádaka*, then, is "some one who performs these good works." In our work the name *Sádaka* is explained as "he who exercises the *ásramadarma* (the right or custom of the hermits)." We have, moreover, explanations of *Darma* and *Adarma* (right and wrong). Further, *Sruti* (revelation) and *Smrēti* (tradition) are mentioned. The former is like *Darmasāstra* (the book of instruction in right), and is said to be *dirágnihotravijya* (*vijya*, derived, beginning from; *díra*, *agni*, *hotra*, the maintenance of a continual fire); it thus has reference also to the fire-worship. The *smrēti* is the *varnásrama-áchára* (*varnásrama* is here perhaps an error for *vanásrama*, forest-hermitage); thus "the mode of life, the example of the forest-hermitages." To these hermitages the ancient tradition was handed down. The seven *Rēsis* shall teach the *Darmadwaya* (the double right; *Darma* and *Adarma*? or rather *Sruti* and *Smrēti*) on the earth in the time of *Púrva Manu* (= *Svayambhuva*?). The *Darmadwaya* is the contents of the *Chaturveda* (the four Vedas), according to which the *Sádu* (the good man) regulates his life. It contains also the *Dandaniti* (the regulation of punishments), the *Trayí* (the three Vedas without the *Atharva-veda*; we had just now all four Vedas, but these inaccuracies often recur), and the *Warnásrama* (here also *varna* takes the place of *vana*). Does *varna* perchance convey the idea of a caste? and the *varnásrama* mean the regulation of the life (the four periods) of all castes? In general the passage before us speaks only of the Brahmas.

The word *Sruti* is explained by: "ri denian kinatuturan," because she is learned, she is called *Sruti*. *Smrēti*, *makanimitta ri kangên-angênira matangian Smrēti ngarania*, on account of her amiableness she is named *Smrēti*. The name *Smara* (love, the god of love) and a signification of the root *s'mri*, "desiderare, to desire, to like," have obviously led to the latter explanation.

The characteristics of the *Satia-Brahmáchári* (of the true

Brahman pupils) are: *Tapa* (penance), *Mona* (Sanskrit *mâuna*, to be silent), *Yajnya* (to make offerings), *Dâya* (the receiving of alms), *Ksamâ* (patience), *Aloba* (freedom from desire), *Dama* (subjugation, *i.e.* of sins), *Sama* (repose of the soul), *Jitâtma* (victory over the *âtma*, the passions), *Dâna* (almsgiving), *Anama* (not to greet; this is forbidden to the Brahmans, because they would lower themselves by bowing their heads, etc.), *Advêsa* (freedom from hate), *Arâga* (freed from affections). He is *wirakta* (freed from sensuousness), *tiâga* (relinquishes all earthly things and gives them away), *bedajânâna* (knows the differences, has power to discriminate or shrewdness). These characteristics are called *darmaprati-anggalaksana*, the names (or signs) of the organs of the *Darma*.

Iti-uktang tatvancha sarvang, darmapratianggalaksanang.

So is the whole *Tatwa* (dogma) related, which contains the names of the organs of the *Darma*.

This is not the place to speak more fully of the contents of the *Brahmândapurâna*; it is to be hoped that in a short time they may be fully worked out. We will conclude with a note on the contents of the Vedas.

The *three Vedas* (here also the fourth is not mentioned), *Rêg*, *Yajuh*, and *Sâma*, contain four *Stotras* (*stotra* is praise), namely, (1) *Drawya-* (Wilson, "elementary substance"; there are nine kinds); (2) *Guna-* (the three qualities which penetrate all beings, *viz.* *Satwa*, reality, truth; *Rajas*, passion; *Tamas*, darkness, ignorance, badness); (3) *Karma-* (the works, actions, the practical part, the offerings); (4) *Bijana-Stotra* (this must be *abhijana*, "family, race" (Wilson). It is thus the genealogical part.)

RELIGIOUS CEREMONIES AND OFFERINGS.

The five daily offerings which the head (*grêhastâ*) of every Indian family has to make, are not found in Bali. The Panditas read (or mumble) the Vedas once a day; the people make their offerings and say their prayers on certain days. The religious ceremony consists in bringing offerings, which are offered with a *sembah* and deposited in front of the small temple-houses; in the ordinary temples this is

mostly done by women, to whom is also entrusted the preparation of the various offerings. The act of offering is connected with *mantras* (forms of prayer), which, however, are not said aloud. On great feasts the offerings are presented by "*tandakking*" persons inspired by a deity, *wawalen* or *prakulit* (see Us. Bali, p. 335, *balian* = *wawalen*). These offerings are coupled with "*tandakking*" with the creese, which indicates that the offerer is ready to offer up his life. The offerings are very numerous, and are specially appointed for each feast and each deity; one usually sees various preparations of rice, cooked meats, fruits, sirih, kwekwe, money (Chinese "cash"), clothes, and also drinks.

Bloody sacrifices are made to *Durgâ* and the *Bûtas*; they are usually confined to hens, ducks and young pigs, although in great sacrifices buffaloes, goats, deer and dogs are slaughtered. The persons offering the sacrifice eat the flesh of the three first-mentioned animals, and only offer the skin and bones and portions of the flesh, boiled or roasted; they also dress the flesh of the dogs (*sasate*), but, according to their own statements, they do not eat any of this, the whole animal being intended for the *Bûtas*. On the feast of *Bayakala* every family kills a pig, and the skin and blood are deposited in the court-yards of the houses for *Kâla* and the *Bûtas*. The flesh, however, is in this case also used as food by the persons making the offering. Besides these offerings the temple is sprinkled with holy water (*toya tîrta*). This water is bought from the Panditas, who consecrate it by reading the Vedas. The persons offering also use this holy water to purify themselves, to rinse their mouths and to sprinkle their faces. We have in Bali, it is true, the *toya Sindu* (water of the Indus), at the foot of the *Gunung agung* in Basuki, and also a *Gangga* in *Tabanan*, but the priests do not regard this water as holy. They know that these rivers are in *Klîng* (India), and that they cannot obtain the water thence, but this want is supplied by mumbling the Vedas. Besides the *Ganggâ* and *Sindu*, all the great Indian rivers are known in Bali: the *Yamunâ*, *Narmadâ* (*Nerbudda*), *Caverî* (near *Seringapatam*), the *Sarayu*, the river of *Ajodyâ* (*Oude*) and

others. The holy water produced by the Panditas is called *Mr̥ta* or *Amr̥ta* (*Ambrosia*, immortal, life-giving food). This water has *Kusa*-grass soaked in it. The Padanda also strews *Kusa*-grass soaked in holy water over the persons who make the offerings. The *Kusa*- (or *Darba*-)grass is also used to lay the offerings upon. *Gr̥ta* (*Ghee*) is likewise known here, but, for want of milk, is made of gooseberries. The Panditas, however, also use sometimes the milk of cows to prepare this; it ought really to be made of the milk of a *lembu putih* (a white cow with a hump); these animals are sacred; the common Balinese cow is not sacred, although it may not be eaten by the faithful. In *Badong* the Balinese are forbidden to kill cows, although it is done secretly, but in other states they are slaughtered openly. In order to be able to use the milk of these Balinese cows for *Gr̥ta*, the beast is tied up for a fortnight and is given nothing but *Kusa*-grass to eat; this food renders the milk sacred, and especially purifies it from the smell of musk which the Balinese cows have. *Tila*-grass is also used, but is not known to the ordinary Balinese (see a passage in the *Râmâyana*). *Madu* (honey) also occurs in the offerings, and likewise perfumes, such as *m'nyân*, *maja gawu* and *chandana* (see Us. Bali).

The bloody sacrifices, as we have said, are chiefly dedicated to *Kâla*, *Durgâ* and the *Bûtas*, seldom to *Siva*. In India *Siva* demands blood almost entirely, but in Bali, as supreme deity, he has taken rather the mild form of *Wishnu* (and *Buddha*). The offerings, which on great feasts are numerous and of some value, do not remain in the temples, nor are they all given to the priests. The Padandas who conduct the service receive part of the clothes and money, and the offerings of eatable things, after being presented, are taken back with prayers and eaten at home as *Amr̥ta*, life-giving food, by the persons presenting the offering.

The Panditas besides this receive considerable sums of money for cremations and for being present at the offerings made by the princes; this money is presented to them as an offering itself (this also characterizes the Panditas as a kind of god upon earth). Most of the Padandas return a large

portion of the offering made to them. The Panditas do not take any active part in the offerings; they indicate from their books, before the ceremony takes place, all the usages to be observed—the quantity and preparation of the offerings, and the way in which they are to be presented; but during the ceremony they sit motionless, as they do in the domestic worship, mumbling the Vedas. By mumbling the Vedas, they draw the attention of the gods to the offerings made by man, and cause the gods to look graciously upon them. The place where the Pandita sits is a high framework of bamboo, under a roof, and he has all the utensils for the *Sûryasevana* by his side. To the form of worship belongs also the *Pradaksiná*, the marching round the temple towards the right hand, which is done three times; it is only performed by the Panditas in the spirit, while their bodies remain all the time motionless. I have not yet observed this custom at offerings either, and it seems not to have penetrated to the popular worship of Bali, the *Polynesian tandakking*¹ appearing to have taken its place, while the priests have retained a remembrance of the original form of worship with *Pradaksiná*.

DRESS OF THE PANDITAS.

At the great festivals of the princes, at the cremation of persons of high rank, and at the domestic worship on full and new moon, the Padanda has a special dress, very much resembling the articles with which the Javanese idols are adorned. They are clothed in the ordinary Balinese manner, the upper part of the body being naked (see the idols of the Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen); the garment which hangs from the hips is on these occasions *white*. On his head he wears a *red cap*, which, however, may also be *white*; this is called *Jatá* (see the catalogue of Indian Antiquities, p. xxv); *Jatá* is otherwise the head-dress of Sivaites, but not a covering for the head. This *jatá* has some resemblance to the head-dress of *Bagawan Trinawindu*

¹ *Tandak*, however, appears to be an Indian word; *tandu* is one of Siva's doorkeepers, and *master of dancing and mimicry*; *tandaka* is a juggler; *tandara* "dancing with violent gesticulation," as executed by Siva and his followers.

(No. 145), and still more to the *Glung Kurung* of the Balinese representations of Siva. It is wider at the top than at the bottom, and goes down lower at the back of the head than in front. I counted thirteen annular divisions, formed from the bottom upwards by narrow stripes of gold, which run round the flannel covering of the top. Upon asking whether these divisions and the number of divisions had any meaning, I was answered in the negative; but nevertheless I am disposed to believe that they have some connexion with those which I have observed in the *Merus* (see above) in the temples. In the *Merus* I have never as yet counted more than eleven roofs; can it be that the Panditas assume still greater sanctity by having a greater number of storeys in their *Jatá*, which I venture to regard as a kind of *Meru*? This, added to their name (Siva), does not seem altogether improbable; their own *Meru*, the *Meru* of the Brahmans as it were, would then be higher than that of the gods adored by the people.

Along the edge of the *Jatá*, across the forehead, runs a band, called in Bali *Kesábharana*, ornament of the hair, and in India *Mukuta*; it is covered with gold, and ornamented at short distances with *Súryakántas*¹ (according to Balinese ideas, a sort of precious stone). In the centre of this *Kesábharana*, over the forehead, there is a *Linga*, in the form usual in Bali and of crystal (or glass). At the extremity of the *Jatá* there is a ball, supporting a *Linga* (ball and *Linga* being of the same material as above). The fact that we here find the ball ornamented with the *Linga*, is perhaps again a sign of the intermixture of Buddhism and Sivaism, in which, however, the Sivaitic symbol has the upper place. The Pandita wears in his ears the *Kundala*; these are shaped like an egg, and are attached to the ear by a gold ring; it is, sometimes, of crystal.

¹ *Súryakánta* (beloved by the sun), a precious stone, often meaning crystal, but really said to have proceeded from the rays of the sun. The Balinese *Súryakánta* are of crystal or glass, and will be formed of *pusakas* of *Majapahit*. The fact that this precious-stone is used for the *Súryasewana*, i.e. the worship of the sun, is a further indication of the importance of this heavenly body. Another precious stone of fabulous origin is the *Chandrakánta*, proceeding from the condensed rays of the moon.

For nearly all the remaining articles of his attire the name *âbharana* is used, whereas in India each article has its particular name. We must not confound *Karnâbharana* (ear-ornaments) with the earrings; they are fastened behind the ear. *Âtmâbharana* (ornaments of the *âtmâ*, the soul or the breath), a short band, worn round the neck, and on the breast on each side, with gold clasps of considerable size. *Wâyubharana* (ornaments of the wind; *vâyû*, the wind, is the vital principle; the form *vâyubharana* is incorrect, and should be *vâywâbharana*). These are double; they are worn round the neck, and are longer and fall lower down on the breast than the *Âtmâbharana*. *Hastâbharana*, as the name indicates, are worn round the wrists.

The *guduha* (or *guduha genitri*) is a kind of *rosary*; we find it in several of the Javanese idols; it is called in India *axamâlâ* (string of beads). The name *guduha* does not appear to be Indian. The Pandita has two or three of these, and uses them on great festivals while he mumbles the Vedas, telling them after the manner of the Roman Catholics. All these ornaments, including the Brahman-band, which is called *sampat*, *sawit*, *silimpat*, are strings of the fruit of the plant *genitri* (black balls about half an inch in diameter); their interstices are inlaid with gold, and at intervals they are set with *Sûryakântas*.

The *Brahman-band* (not called here by an Indian name; perhaps it would be a profanation of this sacred ornament to make known to the people the Indian name *Upawîta* or *Yajnyôpawîta*?) is threefold, but is not formed of three cords interwoven, and not of *Munja*-grass, which name is unknown here. There are three strings, passing over the left shoulder and under the right arm, and fastened together on the shoulder. At the place where they are joined, there are three *lingas* (again of crystal). The ends hang down and are ornamented with large precious stones—one with a red stone, *Puala* (doubtless *Upala*, opal); the second with a large (white) *Sûryakânta*; and the third with a black transparent stone, found in the mountains of Bali, and called *manik girang-girangan*. These three colours have reference

to the three gods of the *Trimûrti*, Brahma, Wishnu and Siva (or *Sadâ-Siva*, *Prama-Siva* and *Mahâsiva*). Red is the colour of Brahma, white of Siva, black or dark blue of Wishnu (and also of Kala). Beside this *Brahman-band*, the Pandita has also a band of white cloth, six yards long by three inches wide, which, like the other, is worn over the left shoulder and under the right arm. This band is also called *sampat*, *sawit*, or *silimpat*.

The Pandita, finally, wears on his hands several gold rings with costly rubies. The ruby is the favourite stone in Bali, almost more prized than the diamond; seven kinds are known in Bali, each possessing a special supernatural power. On the upper part of the arm and on the ancles the Pandita wears no ornaments, but the gods do. The gods, also, have many of these ornaments in the form of serpents, which is not the case with the Panditas.

DRESS OF THE GODS.

The head-dress is very complicated, especially that of Siva. Siva alone of all the gods has the *Glung kurung*, a nearly spherical cap, much resembling the *Jatâ* of the *Panditas*, whose example Siva is. This cap covers the back of the head. On the forehead is the *Glung chandi*, a round, lofty head-dress, nearly in the shape of the *chandis* in the temples. *Papudukan* are ornaments next to the *glung chandi*; *Garuda mungkur* above the *papudukan*. *Pattitis* (among the *Panditas Kcsâbharana*) is the forehead-band, set with precious stones; in front is the *chûdâmani*. *Mangle wijaya* (perhaps *mangala wijaya*, happy victory), the plain stripe above the *Patitis*. *Kundala*, the earrings. *S'kar taji*, the pointed ornaments immediately behind the ear. *Ronron*, the ornaments behind the *s'kar taji*. *Apus kupak*, the ornaments on the shoulders. *Glangkana*, the bands on the upper part of the arm. *Glang*, the bands on the wrists. *Glang batis*, the bands on the ancles. *Bapang*, the small garment which hangs in two capes from the shoulders on to the upper part of the arms. *Kalung*, a short collar ornamented in silk with serpent-heads. *Sampat*,

Silimpat or *Sawit*, also *Genitri* (after the name of the plant of the seeds of which it is made), the Brahman-band, worn, like that of the Panditas, over the left shoulder and under the right arm. In the drawing this is double. *Babédatti*, the breast-band, worn round the breast under both arms, and fastened in the middle with a jewel; this is also found on many Javanese idols. *Nâga wangsul* (the serpent of Bali), a large band hanging from the shoulders to the stomach, formed of a serpent, worn in this way as the Brahman-band. *Babadong* (*badong*, the name of a kingdom, means, like *bandhana*, the Sanskrit name of it, "connexion"), the upper band round the hips. *Tambédana*, two other bands worn round the body, below the *babadong*. *Kamben*, the cloth (not a *sarong*), unsewn, and fastened above the hips by the bands just mentioned. *Samir*, an end of the cloth, rolled up and sticking out above the *Tambédana*. *Jawat*, the end of the cloth which hangs down in front between the legs. *Linchér*, two ends of the same hanging at the side. *Chalér*, short breeches (these are never worn by the Balinese, and are only seen in representations of mythological personages). Siva and all the real gods sit or stand on a lotus-bed, *padmâsana* (see, above, the *Padmâsana* in the temples as a seat for Siva). They have also a glory, surrounding the whole figure, called here simply *trang teja*, "the bright lustre." All these ornaments can only be clearly explained by means of drawings, and I therefore caused the principal Balinese gods to be drawn by a Brahman; the first of these drawings which I sent were lost on the journey; those which I sent on the second occasion at any rate reached Batavia.

The costume just described is that of nearly all the gods; Siva wears only the *Glung kurung* in front. This monotony also indicates that all the gods are merged in the one Siva. In the female images we find other ornaments for the ears, and the cloth hangs down lower, as it is worn by the Balinese women. *Umâ*, Siva's wife, has ornaments stuck through the lobe of the ear, named *Subong*; they are similar to those of most Balinese girls, which are made of lontar-leaves rolled together. She also has the *Glung chandi* of Siva. *Sri*,

Wishnu's wife, has the same ornaments, but a simple head-dress, called *Mengure glung*. Wishnu's earrings are called *rumbing*, and are round and without a cavity.

It is especially to be remarked here, that the names of the articles of the Panditas' dress are Sanskrit, while the names of those of the gods themselves are Balinese. The gods are thus less sacred than the priests! But the deity may not and cannot really be represented; drawings and images have no value but for the ignorant.

FEASTS.

These are partly *feasts of the various gods and temples*, and partly *expiatory feasts*. Those of the first kind are dedicated to the more beneficent gods, the others to the *Bútas* and *Ráksasas*, with *Kála* and *Durgá* at their head. Especially grand feasts are celebrated in the *sadkahyangs*, the six most sacred temples in Bali. In the temples of *Básuki* (or *Besaki*) at the foot of the *Gunung Agung*, the feast-day is every lunar year on the full moon (*Purnama*) of the month *Kapat* or *Karttika*. This feast-day is really valid for all Balinese (Us. Bali, p. 273 seq., and 346); but on account of the existing hostilities, *Badong* and *Tabanan* have not for a long time performed their worship, because the temple is in *Karang Asem*. In *Basuki*, *Mahádeva* or *sang Púrna Jaya* (Siva), whose seat is the *Gunung Agung* (or *Meru*), is worshipped.

In *Badong* the feast-day in the great sanctuary of *Uluwatu* is on the 21st day of the new (Balinese) year, *anggara kalixon*, in the week *Madang Siha*. On this day the princes of *Badong* worship there, and to do this have to travel over the mountains to that holy place by wild and rocky paths. The holiness of this temple is ascribed to the fact that the ship (the *prahu*) of *Dewi Danu*, *Mahádeva's* sister, when she came from India, stopped at that place and turned into stone. This temple, however, cannot be so old as that of *Basuki*; it is not named in the Us. Bali, p. 320; and it must further be taken into consideration that the feast-day is fixed, not according to the Indian, but according to the Balinese year,

while, on the contrary, in *Basuki* it is fixed according to the Indian calendar, and this seems to indicate that the temple of *Badong* is of later date. The same thing applies also to the temple of *Sakennan* or *Serangan*, dedicated to *Indra*. Here the feast is on *Rediti Manis*, in the week *Langkir*, the 12th day of the Balinese new year.

Each temple has likewise a feast on the date of its foundation. This is called *wedalan*, commonly pronounced *odalan*, or anniversary. General feasts of the gods and *Pitaras* are celebrated on *Galungan*, and in the five succeeding weeks (see *Us. Bali*). At this time the gods are supposed to dwell on the earth, and the *Pitaras* especially return to the bosoms of their families; hence the constant offerings and the incessant games and amusements, which are regarded as necessary less for the living generation than for the *Pitaras* and *gods* sojourning among them; hence also the cessation from work and the disinclination to intercourse with foreigners during this period. Trade and foreigners are not agreeable to the *Pitaras*, who desire to see old institutions and usages faithfully preserved. The princes also have feasts on their birth-days, and on the anniversaries of their temples. The number and the preparation of the offerings is minutely prescribed for each deity and each temple.

The *expiatory feasts*, however, are those most worthy of attention. They are, in great part, celebrated not in the temples, but in the inner portion of the houses (*natar*), or in places arranged for the purpose. We have already mentioned two great feasts: *Bayakâla* (see *Us. Bali*, p. 323 sqq.) and *Panchâwalikrama*. The meaning of the latter word is not quite clear: *pancha* is five, *krama* regulation, but *wali* is uncertain; the explanation by means of *bali* (offering to the *bûtas*) is open to doubt, because *b* seldom or never passes into *w*, although *w* very often changes into *b*. This feast is not kept on fixed days in the year, but on great occasions. It occurs after the conquest of a state, for the sake of the conquered population, who are, thereby, delivered from the evil influence of the demons, who have power over conquered places; it also takes place before the *abiseka* (anointing) of

the sovereigns, and it is celebrated by all the princes and the men who bear arms. It is further observed after a contagious disease, e.g. the smallpox. It is necessary that five *Padandas* should be present, four seated facing each of the cardinal points and one in the middle; one of the five must be a *Padanda Buddha* (a Buddhist priest), who sits facing the south. We have drawn attention above to this phenomenon, and may here observe that although Buddha is also represented at this feast, he plays but a subordinate part. To the north is Vishnu, whose colour is black; to the east *Mahesvara* (white), to the south Brahma (red), to the west *Mahádeva* (yellow), and in the middle Siva, with mixed colours. (The offerings are of corresponding colours.) In the middle is the *Padanda* of the supreme Siva, and he naturally has the chief place. There are three other priests of Siva besides, but only one Buddhist.

Another expiatory feast is called *Ekadasa Rudra* (the eleven *Rudras*; Rudra is a subordinate form of Siva; eleven Rudras are also mentioned in Wilson). The origin of this feast, however, seems to be known to but few Balinese. See *Tijdschrift van N.I.*, 8, 3, p. 242 (in which passage the name *yajnya*, through a printer's error, is written *yajuya*). The offerings enumerated there are the greatest known in India, but, according to the descriptions which I have obtained, they are not organized in Bali and Lombok precisely in the Indian manner. I was told that there were no bloody sacrifices in the feast in Lombok (September, 1846); simply large sums of money were distributed among the priests and the people, and the ordinary offerings were presented.¹

It appears, therefore, that only the names of these feasts have survived in the memory of the Balinese, and that the latter, in a spirit of vainglory, apply these sacred names to their curtailed feasts, which they have not the means to make very grand.

¹ For the reader's convenience I will repeat the names: 1. *Asvamedhayajnya*, the horse-sacrifice; 2. *Gomedhayajnya*, the cow-sacrifice; 3. *Manusyayajnya*, human sacrifice; 4. *Rájasúyayajnya*, the sacrifice of the universal prince (*i.e.* offered by him); 5. *Devayajnya*; 6. *Rěsiyajnya*; 7. *Mutayajnya*; 8. *Kauyasa-yajnya*; 9. *Rájabusanayajnya*.

It is a surprising fact, however, that by indirect inquiries I have convinced myself that a few *human sacrifices* have actually taken place in Bali! A former prince of *Karang Asem*, who was defeated in war, put one of his slaves to death in a forest, and then placed his body, concealed by clothes, among the other numerous offerings, as a means of imploring the gods to restore his power. The deed was discovered, for while the Pandita was mumbling the Vedas, a wind arose and uncovered the body. A curse fell upon the presumptuous prince, and he never regained his power. Another instance is known from *Gianyar*, where the prince (probably the first *Deva Mangis*, said to have been changed into a serpent on account of his atrocious acts) had set aside a slave¹ to be sacrificed; he intended to murder him in the darkness of the night, but killed by mistake his own son, and roasted and offered him as a sacrifice.

These two facts cannot well be gainsaid, for I have obtained the accounts of the former not only from *Badong*, but also from *Mengui*, which is allied with and has long been friendly to *Karang Asem*. The people of *Karang Asem* utterly deny it. Of *Gianyar* it is a common saying. How far this barbarity has gone, and perhaps still goes on in a thickly-populated country, where the common man is a slave and of no value, I will not venture to say. The burning of widows, and also the *amok* on the fall of a state, must be classed among the human sacrifices.

The general name for these expiatory feasts is *prâyas-chitta*, commonly pronounced inaccurately *prayas-tista*. The word means, according to Wilson, expiation, penance, and thus is very appropriate. The *Panchâwalikrama* is expressly included under this term. To these also belong the purification of a house in which a corpse has lain. The feast of the *Saraswatî*, on *Saneschara*, in the week of *Watu gunung*, has something in common with this; on that day the collective books of the princes are carried into the temple and purified for the coming year, through the priest reading the Vedas.

¹ *Guling buntut* is the name for human sacrifices.

Another feast is *for the weapons*, the ceremony being the same as in the previous one, and at this a bloody sacrifice to the Butas is also necessary. Yet another feast is observed for the welfare of domestic animals, cows, horses, pigs, fowls, etc. Among the feasts belong also the cock-fights, not only as an amusement of the people, but also as a religious ceremony. At the feasts of the great temples, e.g. the temple of assembly of the *Gusti Pamchuttan*, every one belonging to the congregation must send at least one cock, and must make it fight either himself or through a deputy. This custom is based on the supposed incarnation of Wishnu as a cock (*Silingsing*) in Bali, but we can explain Wishnu's assumed incarnation more satisfactorily as an apotheosis, not derived from India, of the cock-fights which are so popular in all these islands.

FURTHER DETAILS OF THE RELIGIOUS WORSHIP.

The *mangku* (see Us. Bali, p. 267 sqq.) is the guardian of the temple, who superintends the edifice, and partly performs, partly conducts the presentation of offerings; he must know certain *mantras*, e.g. *patikelaning genta sapta* and *sâstra sangha*, and must employ them when offerings are made. Both men and women can fill this post. (The Brahmanic women—that is, those sprung from the Brahmanic caste, not the concubines from the lower castes—are likewise acquainted with the Vedas, and perform some religious functions instead of the men.) The *mangkus* can further be of various castes, and not *Sûdras* alone; I know several *Gustis* (*Wesyas*) in *Badong*, who fill the office of *mangku*; usually, however, these latter hold the post in the chief temples, such as, for instance, the domestic temples of the princes. I have not yet found a Brahman acting as a *mangku*; although perhaps there are some who do so. The Brahmans generally aspire to the dignity of a *Padanda*, and therefore look down upon the position of a *mangku*. In order to become a *mangku* it is necessary, or at any rate usual, that a deity should pass into, and thenceforward speak from, the body of the person

selected. Two cases have become known to me, in which young *Gustis* appeared for a time almost to have lost their reason, speaking an incomprehensible language, performing none of their actions in the ordinary manner, and sleeping in the temples. These *Gustis* were thereupon observed by the persons who had been longer inspired by a deity (*wawalen* or *prakulit*), and, after due inquiry, acknowledged as also inspired. Such individuals are supposed to be either *wawalens* or actual madmen. When they are thoroughly penetrated by the deity, and have become calm again, they are true *wawalen*, and are able to state what deity it is that inspires them. They are then regarded as the most devoted servants (*mangku*) of the said deity. They become madmen if their minds do not become calm again—or rather if their deception is not properly carried out; for of course these *wawalen* must be regarded as idle impostors, who choose to lead an easy life, chiefly at the expense of the credulous populace. (Compare on this subject *Usana Bali*, pp. 268 and 335.)

These temple-servants, however, detract nothing from the importance of the *Panditas*. The latter, by their life and the study of the Vedas, are identified both spiritually and materially with the supreme Siva, whereas the *wawalen* have merely, as it were, given their bodies to be dwelling-places of the deity. In the *wawalen* an unconscious, in the *Padandas* a conscious unity with the deity has commenced. In the great temples, therefore, the *mangku* and *wawalen* are of little consideration; all ceremonies at the feasts are regulated by the directions given from the books by the *Padandas*, and the latter mostly use for this purpose *mantras* which are unknown to the *mangku*. Moreover, the *Pandita* alone (and not the *wawalen*) is able to call down the gods by mumbling the Vedas. The sayings of the *wawalens*, when, at the offerings in the temples, they give utterance to the voice of the god which dwells in them, are compared with the statements of the sacred writings of the *Padandas*, after which a decision is arrived at as to what must be done in important cases (sickness, wars, etc.). Thus, in these cases, also, the *Padandas* have an opportunity of exercising their power; in the first place,

they can counteract, by quotations from their sacred works, the utterances of the *wawalens*, if they do not meet their views; in the second place, they can easily make known to the *wawalens*, whom we are disposed to regard as deliberate impostors, what they must say, and, by their approval, elevate these utterances into laws for the guidance of the people.

Archâ (Sanskrit *archâ*, an image) is an idol, usually of stone, in Bali always of rude workmanship. Sometimes it is supposed that the deity passes into such an image, and this fact then induces the faithful to bring their offerings. (See *Us. Bali*, p. 274.) This belief, however, is for the most part held only by the common people. The priests, and also a large portion of the people, attach little value to the images. "Does not the deity dwell in heaven?" was an idea expressed by a common man in *Boeling*. The idols, as we have already said, are called *togog* or *tongkok*, which means neither more nor less than "doll." We find them principally as watchers, in the form of *Râksasas* and *Bûtas*; for the same purpose there are also small watch-houses, called *Tugu*, before the temples, in order to prevent the evil spirits from entering. We also find images, such as those of *Ganesa* and *Vâsuki*, and also of *Hanumân* and *Garuda*, in some of the small temple-houses, representing as it were the retinue of Siva. *Garuda* is always monstrous, with *Râksasa*-tusks. The *Nandi* is very well known to the Balinese, but I do not remember to have seen representations of it. The worship of images therefore has, upon the whole, penetrated but little into the belief of the Balinese, and we have here an obvious contrast to the creed now existing in India, where the highest value is attached to idols. I have not yet seen any representations in stone of Siva, although I have met with some rude images of Wishnu (the subordinate incarnate deity). In pictures we also see Siva as *Īsvara* and *Mahâdeva* (when he appears as a youth) and as *Arjuna*, but these pictures are not worshipped, and, like those of Wishnu, as *Râma*, etc., have reference rather to the myths in the Kawi-works, than to religion.

The offerings are called *banten*, *charu*, or *aturan*. Reli-

gious fasting, which the priests and those who desire to become *Rési* practise daily, is called *marinten*. The cap of the *Pandita*, *jatâ*, is also called *bawa*. The flowers which he uses in his domestic worship are *ehempaka putih*, *ehempaka kuning* (Sanskrit *ehampaka*; the *a* is here also altered by the nasal pronunciation into a short *e*), *Jepon*, *Kenyeri*, *Ergani*, *Jempiring*, etc.

The *vilva fruit* and the *sâlagrâma stone*, which play so important a part in the Indian worship, I have not yet met with in Bali.

The lotus has really no worship, but it is found planted in pots in the *Padandas'* houses, and also in the ponds which the princes are accustomed to have in their palaces.

The *Brahman-band* (*upavîta*) belongs in India to the three upper castes, which are called on this account *dvija*, "born twice" (the second time through adopting this band). In that country it is of different kinds, according to the three different castes. In Bali it is found only among the *Padandas*, and then only if they are in full dress. But the *Xatriyas* and *Wesjas*, and even *Sûdras*, who have obtained permission from the *Padandas*, also wear a protective band, a sort of amulet, in war, called by the same name (*Sampat*); they only wear it, however, in time of war. In *Badong* I have never met with it. *Chandra* or *wulan tumanggal* (the waxing moon) is in the head-dress of *Ganesa*, as in the Javanese images of that god. The *skull* (*munda*) above the *ehandra* is not known to the Balinese! They have a milder form of religion, with which skulls and chains of skulls (found with the Indian Siva and *Ganesa*, and also in Java) are incompatible. Siva's name, *Kapâlabrêt*, "he who wears a skull," seems to be no longer clearly understood in Bali. The mark on the forehead found in some gods (e.g. *Ganesa*)—not to be confounded with the third eye of Siva and Indra—is called *ehuundung*; it is also marked on the foreheads of the princes when they adorn themselves for a religious service; its meaning is unknown.

The King Siva-Buddha is named in the *Rangga Lawe* as ruler of *Tunapèl*. His kingdom was overthrown by the

people of *Daha* (*Kediri*). This King's name cannot well be anything else but an indication of the state of the religion. *At that time Buddhism and Sivaism must have been completely blended together.* The fall of the kingdom, then, appears to represent a reaction, brought about by the Sivaites; and it is the more remarkable that this kingdom, with a mixed religion, was conquered by that of *Kediri*, where the flower of the Sivaitic priests and learned men were to be found under *Ayer Langgia* and *Jayabaya*, although the latter (*Jayabaya*) especially also tolerated the Buddhists (see under the article *Literature*). From *Kediri* also the orthodox Sivaitic Brahmans in Bali trace their descent. We have already drawn attention in various places to the intermixture of Sivaism and Buddhism. We will give here a few facts bearing on this point. We found an image of Buddha in a temple of Siva in *Boleteng*; on the *jatá* of the *Padandas* there is a ball under the *linga*; and, further, inverted pots or glasses are found on the small temple-houses; in the *Usana Bali* we have among the gods, and also in *Jayabaya's* retinue (in the *Bárata-Yudda*), the *Rěsi Seva Sogata* (Saiva belonging to Siva, and *Saugata* to *Sugata* or Buddha), *Rěsis* (holy beings partly in heaven, partly on earth) of the worship of Siva and of Buddha; in the *Usana Java* we have Siva, Buddha, and *Bujangga* as sons of *san Haji* (the original one).

The Buddhists, the Balinese assert, came later than the Sivaites, and if this refers to their arrival in Java, it agrees with the accounts given in Java, where the Buddhists are also said to have come later than the Brahmans. What has happened in Java is very often confounded, even by the priests, with occurrences in Bali. These nations are particularly weak in chronology and geography. In Raffles, Appendix K, p. ccxxxix., there is an account of Bali by a Muhammedan; it states: "The religion of Buddha (under which he evidently includes the entire Hindu religion) is divided into *Sakálan* and *Niskálan*. The first division will include all earthly things, and the second the religion." This division exists in the writings (*tutur*) of the Balinese, but it has no reference to religion; *sakála* is that which

belongs to time, and *niskāla* that which belongs not to time, but to eternity, to the period after death. The former, therefore, is correctly interpreted by the narrator, but the latter has a wider meaning.

The following are names of the ornaments of the gods :

Anting-anting, like *kundala*, earrings.

Glang Kupak, instead of *alang*, bracelets.

Guduha paucilangan, the rosary (*wilang*, to count).

Parmata, a golden girdle (Ind. *mekhalā*).

Kilat bahu, the necklace (with the *Padanda atmābharana*).

Babandong, the longest band round the neck (*vāyubharana*).

Chechandian, *Chandi* repeated (the *glung chandi*).

The *chakra* is also to be found in the place of the *genitri* (*guduha genitri*), a substitution which in some cases can easily occur with the Javanese images as well.

The *temples* in Bali are of the same class as those of *Majapahit*, or of the third period: in Crawfurd, Ind. Arch., vol. ii. p. 205, "temples constructed of brick and mortar." The bricks of which they are built are not of first-rate manufacture, and consequently not very durable. Stone carvings, which are plentiful in the ruins of *Majapahit*, are only to be found rarely in a few ancient temples and palaces (the best in *Mengui*; and in *Klongkong* and *Gianyar*). This art has evidently not advanced in Bali, and there are now very few men who can work in stone, and even these no longer produce anything of beauty. The art of carving wood, ivory, and whalebone has been tolerably well preserved; neat images of gods and *Rākshasas* are carved out of the last material.

Crawfurd and Raffles maintain that the religion of the people in Bali cannot be called Hindu; but, from all my inquiries into the worship of the common people, which, at first, I was inclined to regard as a remnant of the purely Polynesian age, I have convinced myself that this also is Hindu, and that the low estimation in which the temples of the *Sūdras* are held by the priests has merely obscured the

objects, and corrupted the mode, of this worship. These small temples are regarded as *punggawas* (substitutes) for the large and principal ones, just as the *Súdras* who pray in them are vassals of the men of rank who pray in the great temples.

Another difference finds expression in the saying that not only in such temples, but also in the small *sanggars* of the upper classes, "*Siva's children*" are worshipped. Who these children are, however, is not clear; some Balinese names, e.g. *sang Kasuhun Kidul* (meaning he who is "worshipped in the south"), *Brahma* or *Mahádeva*, do not afford us any explanation. It would appear that here, also, we must have recourse to the difference of the castes; as the insignificant temples alone belong to the *Súdras*, so they have no claim to the worship of the Supreme Siva. *Only the subordinate expressions of Siva's being*, called for want of a better word, "*Siva's children*," are intended for them.

Besides these *children of Siva*, the *Pitaras*, the shades of the dead, are also worshipped in the small temples, and we shall show that these may be regarded as identical, as it were, with "*Siva's children*." We have already seen in connexion with *Indra*, that it is not easy to reconcile the decrees as to becoming a *Pitara* with the punishments to be imposed by *Yama*. According to some, all the persons who have undergone cremation dwell as *pitaras* in *Svarga* or *Indraloka*, and there enjoy eternal happiness; according to others, they wander about for a long time before reaching that place, and assume various forms upon earth; and finally it is also said that, although they enter *Indraloka*, they are obliged to descend again to the earth as human beings; it is not said when this obligation ceases, and their state in heaven is called indiscriminately *deva*, *hyang* (god), or *pitara*. According to the popular belief, *Brahmaloka* or *Wishnuloka* (which are identical and higher than *Indraloka*), and *Sivaloka*, the highest of all, are not attainable. The Brahmins, however, appear not to share this belief, and lay claim also to these supreme worlds and the *moksa* (deliverance from the transmigration of the soul). Among the "*children of Siva*"

we have also to include such ascended souls, dwelling in *Sivaloka*, although it is surprising that they have not become identical and one with Śiva (who here is the same as the Indian *Parabrahma*), as the word *moksa* indicates.

According to the accounts of men of the lower castes, it is supposed that, in the worship of the Pandita, not Siva himself, but *Bagawân Byâsa*, enters into the *Padanda*; the latter then becomes like *Byâsa*, and possesses the divine power of the *Devarsi*. Upon the whole, this statement is almost identical with the opinion which we have already expressed. *Byâsa* is, as it were, the same as the deity (Siva), and, as we have already seen (under *Literature*), is called *Yogîsvara*, a name for Siva himself.

Into the *wawalen*, to whom we have before alluded, there passes, according to the same accounts, a *Bûta kaparagan* (an embodied *Bûta*), who is said to be the confidant of the god and to know his secrets. This spirit, therefore, and not the deity itself, speaks from out of the *wawalen*. We may be surprised that a *Bûta* should be called here the confidant of the deity, yet the conceptions of a *Bûta*, a *Râksasa*, and a *Deva* are so mixed up in the minds of the lower orders, that we cannot attach much importance to this fact, and, besides this, the *Bûtas* and *Devas* were originally as closely related to each other as *Kâla* to *Siva*, and the Elves to the Fays.

The *wawalens* are also the physicians (*balin* = *dukun*); when they act in this capacity, they recite *Mantras* (*mayoga*), moving their bodies as the Panditas do when they mumble the Vedas. In addition to the *mantras*, the *bâyû* (the wind) is the remedy employed by the *balian*; he causes his breath to pass into the bodies of the sick.¹

He who performs *tapa* lives only on the *vâyû*, without any other food. In the Usana Bali, however, we have seen that *tapa* (penance) is now no longer performed in Bali.

¹ In the body are *bâyû*, wind; *sabda*, sound; and *idép*, understanding, the faculty of learning, the three properties which the *trisakti* (or *trimurti*) form out of it.

RĒSIS.

Religious rites analogous to the domestic worship of the *Padandas* are performed also by certain princes and other *Devas* and *Gustis*, in order to attain the dignity of a *Rĕsi*. These persons also perform a service every morning on a fasting stomach, using, however, not the Vedas, but the *Mantras*, namely the *Mantra pasuchian* (the purifying *Mantra*). They perform ablutions with holy water, wash out their mouths, purify their teeth, and wash their hair; not until they have done this, do they dress and appear in public. When, by means of this daily service, which must be coupled with a very regular mode of life (they may not lie, nor say or do anything degrading, etc.), they have attained a certain holiness, they become *Rĕsis*. This state of *Rĕsi* has much in accordance with the third period of the lifetime of the Indians according to *Manu*, where they live for meditation alone, and, withdrawn from all earthly affairs, pass a peaceful life, pleasing to God, in the forest hermitages. In Bali, also, a prince who has become a *Rĕsi*, must relinquish his kingdom to his children, and, intent alone upon his heavenly state, separate himself from all human companionship. It seems, however, that, at present, love for earthly things is of more weight than care about heaven. The last prince but one of *Pam'chuttan* in *Badong*, *Ngrurah G'de Pam'chuttan*, had become a *Rĕsi*, yet he retained his kingdom until his death. The old *Rĕja Kassiman* has performed the said service (which is incorrectly called also *maveda* or *masuryasevana*) for a series of years, and yet he has not become a *Rĕsi*, and seems to keep that dignity in reserve, in case the princes of *Pam'chuttan* and *Den Passar* will no longer acknowledge him as their guardian. The wife of a *Rĕsi* can alone follow him into the state of separation, provided that she, too, has performed the daily service, and, like him, has remained free from all misdeeds and sins.

This service makes the Brahman (*Ida*) a *Padanda* (where, however, other regulations also come in), and the *Xatriya*

and *Wesya*, a *Rěsi* (*Rájarsi*, royal *Rěsi*, to be distinguished from the *Devarsis*, divine *Rěsis*, and the *Brahmarsis*, the Brahmanical *Rěsis*). A *Súdra*, finally, becomes through this service a *Duku*.

TRIMŪRTI.

The *Trimúrti* or *Trisakti* (trinity) is contained in the word *ong* (really Indian *om*), which is formed of three letters, *a*, *ú*, *m*, or, as the Balinese say, of *ang*, *úng*, *mang*, meaning *Sadú-Siva*, *Parama-Siva*, and *Mahásiva*; or *Brahmá*, *Wishnu*, and *Siva*, also represented as *agni* (fire), *toya* (water), and *angin* (air). In this combination *Siva* is co-ordinated with *Brahmá* and *Wishnu*, but he is called *Mahásiva*, the great *Siva*, and the other two gods bear his name, and must be regarded, as it were, as *expressions of himself*. *Siva*, also, is represented hereby as being in the centre, with *Brahmá* on his right hand and *Wishnu* on his left.

This trinity (also called *trisakti*) repeats itself throughout nature. We have the *tribhuvana* (the three worlds), consisting of *bhúr*, *bhuvah*, and *svah* (earth, air, and space). And further, *langit*, *prětivi*, and *naraka* (heaven, earth, and hell). Three kinds of human beings: *parampuwan*, *laki*, and *banji* (woman, man, and hermaphrodite). The last kind also appears in *Siva* as *Arddhanaresvari* (*Siva* with his wife in one body).

In the month of *Kasanga*, in which the lunar year of months begins, all the Balinese keep the feast of *Matawur* or *Labu guntu*; *Kasanga* is also called by its Indian name, *Chetra*, and, as in India, begins the year.

CREMATIONS.

One of the most important religious ceremonies is the cremation of the dead. Only through the burning of the body is it possible for the soul to enter the heaven of *Indra* (*Swarga*), and, thence, that of *Wishnu* and the supreme

heaven of Siva (*Wishnuloka* and *Siwaloka*). The doctrine of the transmigration of the soul exists in Bali, although the Balinese do not speak of its details; the *âtma prasangsâ* is a work on this subject (explained as *kumpulan badan*, the assumption of various bodies; according to the Indian words it seems to be "prizes of the soul," a point which its contents leave in uncertainty). This work, however, is a popular one, written in *Kidung*, but it does not appear to contain the whole of the purely Indian doctrine of the transmigration of souls. Other writings of the Brahmans exist on this subject, but they are secret; it is according to these that the ceremonial at cremations is regulated.

It is believed that cremation and the offerings which precede and follow it exempt a man from any further change of shape—at least he remains for a certain time as a *pitâ* in the heaven of the *Devas*, and as such demands the worship and offerings of his surviving relations. Cremation requires a considerable outlay, and therefore every family is not in a position to show this honour to its dead. Instead of being burned, they are in that case buried, the body being inclosed in a case of bamboo, which completely conceals it, and covered with a number of clothes; it is carried out upon a bier amid the singing of *naenis*, which, among the common people, are trivial compositions. Arrived at the grave, the body is stripped of its clothes, and let down with the bamboo covering; a few small coins are then thrown into the grave (in order that the dead may provide himself with food) and it is closed. By the side of the grave a bamboo is fixed in the ground, on the top of which there is a sort of three-cornered hutch of lattice-work, in which offerings of small value, chiefly rice and flowers and fruit, are deposited immediately after the funeral, and subsequently at certain intervals. These offerings are for the purpose of propitiating the *Butas* (the demoniacal beings, who infest places of burial especially), lest they should attack the soul of the deceased. The grave is then surrounded with a fence or hedge.

Those who are buried in this way cannot enter heaven; they then assume all sorts of shapes, and it seems that the Balinese especially believe that the numerous dogs which wander about half wild are metamorphoses of *Sudras* (the lowest caste); for this reason they hardly ever kill a dog, and these ugly animals increase and multiply enormously, and are a pest to the European. It is now the duty of a member of the family (son, grandson, etc., sometimes even the third generation, if he has become rich enough to afford a cremation) to cause the bones of all his relations who have been buried to be exhumed and to burn them together. At most cremations, therefore, one sees a number of bodies at once, each in a special coffin, many of which have usually been buried for years. In times of general calamity, contagious diseases, etc., all bodies, even those of princes, are buried and not burned; it is not permitted then to keep any corpse above ground, for, in such times, no work pleasing to the gods can be undertaken, and the influence of the demons is in the ascendant. At these times, also, the *Galungan* is not celebrated.

The long periods that corpses are kept is also noteworthy, although I have discovered that Crawford's statements (*As. Researches*, vol. xiii. p. 136; *Ind. Arch.* vol. ii. p. 253) as to the length of time are inaccurate. The duration of the impurity of a house in which a dead body has lain is more precisely fixed, being more than a month for a *Sudra*, only eight days for a Brahman, and an intermediate time for the second and third castes. The time during which corpses are kept varies very much, and the day of the cremation does not at all depend upon the date of the death.

There are bodies in *Badong* which have been kept twenty years; on the other hand, the body of the prince of *Gianyar* was burned about forty days after his death. But the statement (*Crawf. Hist. Ind. Arch.*, p. 244) that a month and a week is the time that bodies must be kept for cremation is also inaccurate for this reason, that it is not every day that is suited for a cremation; it must be a lucky day, and in order to obtain such a day all good omens must concur; it

must also be in the first half of the lunar month (with a waxing moon), and thus can hardly ever happen at one and the same interval of time after the date of the death.

A series of ceremonies belong to cremation. Immediately after death the body is embalmed by the relatives—and in the case of a prince, also by the junior *râjas* of the friendly States; for this purpose spices are used, with which the body is entirely covered, and these again are covered on the principal parts of the body with small coins—over these come clothes, mats, and a covering of split bamboo. This sort of embalming does not protect the body from partial decomposition; the emanations from it are collected in a vessel underneath the *Bale* on which the body lies, and are poured away every day. If the body remains so long unburnt, it becomes dried up in about six months. It is watched the whole time, and if emanations still run from it, they are caught in the vessel referred to; offerings and holy water are also presented. In its mouth the corpse has a gold ring, set with a ruby; this protects it from the power of the demons, and it is the most heinous sin to steal such a ring (a thing, however, which happened not long since). Three days before the cremation the corpse is stripped of its coverings, and the relatives look upon the dead for the last time. Meanwhile, the spices have penetrated into the body; the latter is then washed and again enveloped in split bamboo, mats, and clothes. Instead of a ruby, five small metal plates inscribed with the word *ong*, and with mystic formulas, are put into the mouth; the five plates signify the five principal gods (Siva, Brahma, Wishnu, Indra, and Yama?), comprised in the words *Sa, ba, ta, ha, i* (*Sa* = *Siva*, *Ba* = *Brahma*, *I* = *Indra*; *ta* and *ha* are not clear to me, but *ha* seems to indicate *Hari*, one of the principal names of Wishnu);¹ the plates are of *gold, silver, copper, iron, and lead*. These plates, which keep the body, as it were, under the protection of those five gods, are taken away immediately before cremation,

¹ According to Wilson, *Tha* is Siva; *J*, Kâma; *Ha*, Siva and Wishnu. See also Usana Bali, p. 328. These letters are called *Panchâk s'ara*, the five (sacred) letters.

when this protection appears to be rendered unnecessary by the reading of the Vedas and the pouring out of holy water. Houses in which dead bodies are kept are unclean, and, in the case of princes, the palace is not occupied by the successor until after the cremation, and is merely guarded by the people belonging to the deceased. This is occurring, at the present moment, in *Den Passar* (one of the three residences of princes in *Badong*), where the bodies of five illustrious princes are kept in the great palace, and the reigning prince lives for the present in a small house of little pretension. The first ceremony mentioned above, that of washing before cremation, is called *pangâskaran* or *pabrisian* (purification); *âskara* seems to be Sanskrit, but it is not found in Wilson (first edition).

The preparations for cremation take much time and much money. A bridge is built on each side of the wall of the palace, for the conveyance of the body to the *Bade*. The *Bade*, or funeral pyre, is in the case of princes very gorgeous. It rests on a basis of bamboo, concealed by handsome hangings, under which the bearers place themselves, to move the structure along. On this foundation there is a pyramid of woodwork or bamboo, in from three to eleven storeys. I have only seen the latter number at the cremation of *Dewa Mangis* in *Gianyar*, and this agrees with the number of storeys in the *Merus* of the temples; it certainly has a religious meaning, reminding us of the Buddhist pyramidal buildings and of the philosophical ideas connected therewith. This pyramid is ornamented with more or less splendour, according to the means of the relations of the deceased; the covering is made of little balls of cotton, fastened on to the wooden framework in fringes, and forming heads of elephants and *Butas* round the bottom and at the corners of the different storeys. These balls are of all the colours mentioned in the *Usana Bali*: *white, red, dark blue, and yellow*. The whole of the lower portion, as well as the corner of the pyramid, is covered in this way. The outer sides of the different storeys are ornamented with tinsel and red, and inside they are fitted up as rooms with mirrors and

furniture. Persons are stationed on each storey to attend to the regular progress of the machine and to keep the little rooms clean. The corpse is laid in the highest storey, and covered with a great number of white clothes, which hang down the sides of the pyramid.

Special places are made ready for the cremation of distinguished persons. In *Gianyar* a square of about 400 paces in length and breadth, surrounded by a wall of pillars of masonry with trellis-work between them, was prepared above the palace, on the summit of the hill up which the *dessa* extends. In the centre there was a *Bale* of masonry inlaid with a sort of mosaic of glass-work and boards, after the manner of the *Bales* used for offerings in the temples. The *Bale* consisted of two storeys, and was surrounded with trellis-work. Above it rose, on four pillars, another chamber and a roof, the chamber ornamented with mirrors, and the whole covered with tinsel. The pillars were covered in red. This place was intended for the cremation, and upon it stood a figure of a lion (*singha*). This figure is only used at the cremation of reigning princes (*chokorda*)¹; other distinguished persons are burnt in the figure of a cow—men in that of a black, and women in that of a white *lembu*. The common man, generally, has only a simple square wooden coffin to be burnt in, but figures are sometimes used also by the lower orders, e.g. *Gajamina*, a monster, half elephant, half fish. These figures of beasts are ornamented to a certain extent (in *Gianyar* very splendidly); the erect tail and the back are taken off, like a lid, when the body is let down into the figure, and are replaced after the ceremony of letting down the body. In *Gianyar*, outside the square, in the centre and at the sides, there were several large and ornamental *Bales* for the distinguished spectators, and especially for the very numerous women. In addition to these, there were the places for the cremation of the three *Belas*, on the left. For several days before the cremation of people of rank, one or more Panditas reside with the relatives; they

¹ It has been said, however, that this custom did not come from *India*.

manage all that has to be done, indicate the mode of making the offerings, prepare the metal plates, and invoke, by means of the Vedas, the success of the important ceremony about to be undertaken. It is they also who conduct the *Bade* to the place of cremation. If the deceased belongs to the second caste, the *Xatriyas*, the *Bade* is fastened to a serpent (*nâga* or *nâgabandha*, serpent-band); this serpent is ornamented in the same manner as the footpiece of the *Bade*, and has wings; the body is quite 30 fathoms long, and is carried by men. Before the procession starts, the *Padanda* descends from his palanquin and shoots from the four cardinal points at the head of the serpent, whose evil influence is thereby destroyed. He uses for this purpose wooden arrows with white flowers attached to their ends, the flowers alone being discharged at the serpent.¹ This peculiar custom of fastening a serpent in front of the *Bade* and of the killing of this reptile by a Pandita, points to a fable of former quarrels between the earthly gods (the Brahmans) and the princes. A *Dera agung* was in the habit of ridiculing the Brahmans; he especially threw doubts upon their supernatural power. Once upon a time, when a powerful Pandita was at his palace, he caused a goose to be put into a well or pit, and the latter to be closed. He then asked the Pandita what animal was in the well, and the Pandita replied, a *nâga*. Thereupon the prince wished to ridicule him, but when he opened the well, a terrible serpent came indeed forth. The King then, astounded and terrified, was rescued in his need by the good Pandita, who slew the serpent, and ever since that time, at the cremation of all *Xatriyas*, a serpent has been fastened to the *Bade*, killed by the Pandita, and burnt with the corpse. When this serpent has been figuratively slain, it is wound round the *Padanda's* seat, the tail remaining fastened to the *Bade*; in this manner the *Padanda* conducts the corpse (or in reality, according to their notions, the soul) to the place of cremation, and so to

¹ This is almost the only case in which a *bow and arrow* are used in Bali; with this exception, we only meet with their use in some dramatic representations, where they appear in accordance with the Indian myths.

heaven (*swarga*), where it (the soul) is admitted among the *pitaras*.

The procession at cremations is very long, even with the lower orders. In *Gianyar*, where the princes and many armed men, besides the bands of musicians and actors from all States of Bali (excepting *Bangli*), were present at the celebration of the feast, the procession extended for upwards of a "paal." First came always the coolies bearing the wood for the cremation. In *Gianyar* they carried pieces of wood of uniform shape, coloured black and gold; it is said to be customary to use sandal-wood for princes, but this did not appear to me to be the case, for the pieces were too large, and would have been too costly for the means of a small Balinese prince. Then came the music and the men armed with muskets, then all the articles of personal use belonging to the deceased, and then holy water and offerings for the *Butas*, carried by women on their heads. The order of march is: twenty or thirty men armed with lances, and then the bearers of the *Upachâra*, walking two and two (*upachâra* means in Sanskrit *service* and also *present*; to be understood here as, *the articles belonging to the service of the deceased*).¹ These include everything of domestic use in Bali: clothes, rings, and other jewelry, mirrors, and articles of the toilet, the sirih-box (in the case of princes, of gold), the water-bottle (also of a precious metal), the umbrella (*payung*; umbrellas are also held over the jewelry by those walking nearest); and, finally, the horse of the deceased, richly caparisoned, led in the procession by men, and sometimes ridden by a young son or grandson of the deceased. All these are again followed by armed men and musicians; the bands of music separate the divisions of the procession. The second part is devoted entirely to holy water (*toya tirta*);² more than a hundred women carry small vessels of water on their heads; this water comes from the most sacred

¹ According to *Gericke's* Javanese dictionary, which has reached me too late, *hupachara* means tokens of distinction and of honour, state-decorations, insignia, ceremony, pomp, splendour. This agrees with our explanation.

² This water is as holy as that of the Ganges.

places in Bali, and is solicited and bought from the Padandas who stand in especially high esteem. Here, again, the intermixture of Buddhism is noteworthy; we have here not only *holy water from the Padanda of Siva*, but also from the *Buddhist Padanda*, and these waters are mixed together.¹ It appears, therefore, that the Sivaites also require the help of Buddha, and that Buddhism is still as it were an integral part of the religion of all Balinese. This water is called *toya* or *toya tirta*, "water of a holy place;" *tirtha* is Ind. "a holy bathing-place," and also "a chapel;" our holy water comes from both such places, from the sacred waters (see *toya Sindu* in *Us. Bali*, p. 337), from the temples, and from the houses of the Padandas, who have consecrated it by mumbling the Vedas.

The offerings for the *Butas*, *bantén dagan*, form the third division of the procession. *Dagan* is the Balinese name for *Buta*, although the latter word is used quite as often. These offerings consist of all sorts of meats, cooked and half-cooked, of rice, fruits, flowers, leaves; all these vegetable offerings must be of five different colours: *white* (the colour of Siva or Mahadeva), *red* (Brahma), *yellow* (Buddha and also Siva in Bali),² *black* or *dark blue* (Wishnu; also Kâla), and *brumbu*, a mixture of the four colours; the last is the colour of the supreme Siva, who combines in himself the natures of the four already named. These offerings are made to propitiate the *Butas*, who are supposed to haunt the burial-grounds. The offerings for the gods and *pitaras* (the shades), which are offered the same day, are left at home.

Here usually follows the Padanda, carried in a palanquin, and drawing after him, when a *Xatriya* is burnt, the dead *nâga* with the *Bade* attached to it. At several points, especially at the corners of the road, before the house of the deceased, and before the place of cremation, the *Bade* is

¹ The mixed holy water is called *toya pangëntas*, and is especially purifying and a protection from danger; leaves of gold (*mas pripi*) and a costly gold ring (which the Pandita keeps) with a ruby are placed in it; and also flowers, *balung-balung* or ground sandal-wood; powdered rubies; whole rice (*bija*); cut flowers and leaves (*samsam*).

² Comp. *Pitâmbara*, "with a yellow garment."

turned round three times, the *Padanda* being carried before it and leading the movement. The lofty structure of the *Bade* sometimes renders it necessary to employ more than 400 men to perform these manœuvres. In *Gianyar* the prince, the son of the deceased, preceded the *Bade*, followed by a great number of other princes and the armed men of *Gianyar* and *Badong*. In other cases I have always seen the relatives following the deceased; the reason why the prince preceded the corpse was this, that the *Belas* with their procession followed the *Bade*, and that the princes considered it beneath their dignity to go behind the *Belas*, who in this case were all *Gundiks* (concubines from the fourth caste). During the whole march *Kawi*-songs are sung, chiefly by those who carry the *Bade*; they were not songs of mourning, however, but favourite portions of the *Râmâyana*, *Bârata Yudda*, and other works well known to the people.

When the procession has arrived at the place of cremation, and the *Bade* has turned round thrice for the last time, the body is carried down from the top of the *Bade* by a staircase made for this purpose, and up by another small staircase to the place of burning, where it is laid in the coffin (the lion or cow). The corpse is then only in the covering of bamboo referred to above; the clothes and ornaments remain on the *Bade*, and some of them are taken home again, the remainder, as well as all the ornaments of the *Bade*, being given up to the people as plunder after the cremation. The *Pandita* then, mumbling the *Vedas*, sprinkles on the body the different kinds of holy water—a ceremony which generally lasts more than an hour. At last, after all the vessels of holy water have been emptied, the *Padanda* quits the spot, and the bearers of wood now kindle a fire under the figure of the animal, which is consumed but slowly, on account of the copious wetting which it has received. Sand is strewn on the foundation of wood or masonry, to prevent the fire from spreading. When the corpse is consumed, the bones are collected by the watchers, laid on the purified place of burning, and covered with clothes, to which are added also the utensils for adornment and small offerings. These are

carried the next day with great state to the sea and thrown into it, together with money and offerings. Before this is done, the *Padanda* again reads the Vedas on a lofty erection, making frequent use of the bells, which stand by his side. Opposite the *Padanda* stand rich offerings of all kinds, and especially quantities of clothes and money. The *Padanda* receives these offerings. He is also offered a tolerably large sum, up to £50, for performing the ceremonies, but most priests only take part of this and return the rest to the relatives of the deceased. Other ceremonies follow at intervals of a fortnight, of some months, and of a year after the cremation. At these we have again a procession, as at the cremation itself; there is a *Bade*, upon which the corpse is represented by flowers; these flowers (*puspa*) are also thrown into the sea. During the whole of this time numerous offerings are made for the deceased. After the ceremony which takes place a year after the cremation, the deceased is regarded as actually admitted among the *pitaras* (the shades) in *Indra's* heaven, and as sharing in the offerings which are presented to the latter in the domestic temples. Great princes sometimes celebrate a feast to the memory of the dead even after the lapse of some years.

The *burning of widows* has attracted most attention from Europeans. Wonder is expressed at the great number of women sacrificed in this way in Bali in former times (Crawford, *As. Res.* vol. xiii. p. 135); yet it should be borne in mind that in Bali *polygamy* is carried further than in any other country—that, e.g. the great-grandfather of *râja* Kassiman, prince of *Ngrurah Sakti Pam'chutan*, had 500 wives—and thus it cannot surprise us to see so many women burnt, particularly since the women who offer themselves gain the highest distinction, and the sacred writings, from the *Purvas* (divisions of the *Mahâbhârata*) downwards, represent this act as praiseworthy and almost necessary. That in India but one wife follows her husband in death, is naturally explained by the fact that very few Hindus have more than one wife. But little is yet known of the burning of widows among the princes of India, and as but few independent

princes now exist who are worshippers of Siva, the silence on this subject is easily accounted for.¹

In Bali *the burning of widows is confined almost entirely to the princely families.* The princes are now either *Xatriyas* or *Wesyas* (*Devas* or *Gustis*), and so far Crawford is correct in saying that only the second and third castes observe this custom. The true reason of this, however, lies in the outlay which is requisite. The *Sudras* are seldom rich enough to bear the expense of a splendid cremation; their women, also, are less under the influence of the priests, who do not trouble themselves much about such common people, and finally, the wife's respect for the deceased husband is not so great, because he was of the same rank as herself. Among the Brahmans the burning of widows is still rarer, but yet a case which occurred some years ago in Badong has come to my knowledge. The Brahmans do not regard it as necessary; it is not prescribed in the *Veelas*, nor is it practised in India by the Brahmans, who have remained free from the worship of the sect.

The names given to the burning of widows are known from Crawford: *Satia* and *Bela*. This explanation of them must be modified. *Satia* is *the burning of a wife who, from a platform erected for the purpose, throws herself into the same fire with her husband, committing suicide with the creese at the same time.* These may be either lawful wives or concubines, and the latter is not unfrequently the case. *Bela*, on the contrary, is *the burning of a wife, who is burnt in a separate fire, not with her husband, jumping into it alive, without using the creese.* This latter method is not thought so much of, but is the more common. These women, who are also called improperly *Belas*, are mostly concubines, but I have also been told of cases in which lawful wives have chosen this method of self-immolation.

The names *Satia* and *Bela* are Indian—the former unmistakably, the second in all probability. *Satia* is *truth*,

¹ A man of high rank in *Nipal*, *Bhugtee Thapa*, was followed into the fire by his *two wives*.—H. T. Prinsep, *Transactions of the Marquess of Hastings*, vol. i. p. 170, note.

fidelity; the wife who dies in this way is called *Satiawati*, a true, faithful woman, who has performed in all things her duty to her husband. *Bela* is explained by Crawford as "retaliation," but so far as I am able to reconcile the Balinese explanations with each other, it is rather the Sanskrit *welâ* "sudden and easy death" (Wilson). This is rendered clear by the way in which it takes place; and further by the fact that the *sacrifice of the followers of a prince* defeated in war, who then die together in an *amok*, is also called *Bela*. In general it means in Bali "dying with the man of higher rank" (the wife with her husband, the slave with his master, the followers with the prince).

That female slaves were murdered by men appointed for the purpose, and were afterwards cast into the fire, which would seem to be a compulsory human sacrifice, must have been a fact 200 years ago, and was observed by Mr. Zollinger in *Lombok*,¹ but I have not found any trace of it in Bali. The women who sacrifice themselves are indeed, as a rule, slaves, for they are mostly from the fourth caste (the *Sudras*), at least all the concubines are; but their immolation is voluntary, and neither in the *Satia* or the *Bela* are they touched by a man. From the moment that they declare themselves ready to be burnt alive, they are holy persons; they enjoy all the honours of the *Pitaras*. They may no longer tread the ground, but must always be carried. Offerings are even made to them, and all their wishes are satisfied. Nevertheless, the successor of the deceased simply regards such concubines as the servants who will be required by his father after his cremation. The women themselves are excited by religious ideas; a female priest always accompanies them till the moment of death, and describes to them in glowing colours the happiness of life in *Swarga*, the rise to a higher caste, and how they will thereby become the lawful wives of the deceased. To these deceptions must be added the honour and the advantages which the woman's relations expect to receive from the

¹ See the report of the Dutch envoys to *Gelgel*, in Crawford, *Ind. Arch.* vol. ii. p. 244 *seq.*

prince's successor; the men of her family have a claim to offices; they are made chiefs of *Dessas*, *Pamb'kêls*, etc. They are therefore the only persons who sometimes use means of compulsion to prevent the women from retracting. They accompany the victim of the family; they keep up the fire, and, if the woman hesitates, tip up the plank on which she stands above the fire, so that she falls in against her will. These cases, however, are of rare occurrence. Deception of the imagination and the use of opium have generally made the victims quite indifferent, and they jump into the fire as if it were a bath.

Eight days after the death of a prince or noble his wives are asked whether any of them wish to follow him into the fire; those who then state their willingness are accepted, and, during the interval before the cremation, are shown the above honours. They cannot easily change their minds; the opposition of their relatives, and the shame which would attach to them, as well as the deceptions of the priests, hold them back. The women who may wish to give in their names after this period of eight days are not accepted, perhaps in order to avoid the appearance of compulsion. The women who have offered themselves to be burnt lead thenceforward a life of pleasure, and enjoy much greater honour than they ever knew before. This again is a reason why they should not change their minds during the interval, sometimes a long one, before the cremation.

We will here add some details of a cremation, at which women were burnt, in *Gianyar*, of which we were eye-witnesses. On the 20th December, 1847, the prince of *Gianyar*, *Dewa Mangis*, was burnt; we have already spoken above of the way in which his body underwent cremation. The corpse was followed by *the three wives* (concubines), who became *Belas*. A procession went before them, as before the body: (1) *Upachara*, (2) *Toya*, (3) *Banten dagan*. They, like the body, were seated in the highest storeys of *Bades*, which, like that of the prince, were carried by men, but had only three storeys. After the body of the prince had arrived at the place of cremation, the three *Belas* in their *Bades*—each

preceded by the bearers of the offerings destined for her, with armed men and bands of music—were conducted to the three fires.

Their *Bades* were also turned round three times, and were carried round the whole place of cremation. The women were then carried down steps from the *Bades*, and up the steps of the places erected for their cremation. These places consisted of a square of masonry three feet high, filled with combustibles, which had been burning since the morning, and threw out a glowing heat; the persons appointed to watch them fed the fire, and at the moment when the women leaped down, poured upon it a quantity of oil and arrack, so that it flared up to a height of eight feet, and must have suffocated the victims at once. Behind this furnace stood an erection of bamboo, in the form of a bridge, of the same width as the square of masonry, and about forty feet long, and from sixteen to eighteen feet high; steps of bamboo led up to it in the rear. In the centre there is a small house, affording a last resting-place to the victim, in which she waits until the ceremonies for her husband are finished and his body has begun to burn. The side of the bamboo scaffold nearest to the fire is protected by a wall of wet Pisang-stems. Upon the bridge lies a plank smeared with oil, which is pushed out a little over the fire, as soon as the time for the leap draws near. At first there is a door at the end of the bridge, and this is not removed till the last minute. The victim sits in the house on the bridge, accompanied by a female priest and by her relatives. They all speak to her of the happiness which she will now shortly enjoy with her husband. She then makes her toilet; her hair especially is combed, the mirror used, and her garments newly arranged; in short, she arrays herself exactly as she would for a feast. Her dress is white, her breasts are covered with a white *slendang*; she wears no ornaments, and after all the preparations to which it has been subjected, her hair at the last moment hangs quite loose. When the corpse of the prince was almost consumed, the three *Belas* got ready; they glanced one towards another, to convince themselves

that all was prepared; but this was not a glance of fear, but of impatience, and it seemed to express a wish that they might leap at the same moment. When the door had been opened, and the plank smeared with oil and pushed out, each took her place on her plank, made three *Sembahs* by joining her hands above her head, and one of the bystanders placed a small dove (*titiran*) upon her head. When the dove flies away, the soul is considered to escape. They then immediately leaped down. There was no cry in leaping, no cry from the fire; they must have been suffocated at once. One of the Europeans present succeeded in pushing through the crowd to the fire, and in seeing the body some seconds after the leap—it was dead, and its movements were caused merely by the combustion of the materials cast upon the flames. On other occasions, however, Europeans have heard cries uttered in leaping, and in the first moments afterwards.

During the whole time, from the burning of the prince till the leap of the victims, the air resounded with the clangour and noise of the numerous bands of music. The soldiers had drawn up outside the square, and contributed to the noise by firing off their muskets. Besides these, some small cannon were discharged. There was not one of the 50,000 Balinese present who did not show a merry face; no one was filled with repugnance and disgust, except a few Europeans, whose only desire was to see the end of such barbarities. The Balinese look upon this cremation simply as the consummation of their religious and domestic duties; no one sees any cruelty in it. Yet, as the all-powerful priests attach little importance to it for their own caste, with their aid the diminution and abolition of these human sacrifices among the other castes might be effected. The priests' interest in maintaining it is, alas! a monetary one—and therefore no help can be expected from them.

The number of women burned in Bali itself is not considerable; in Lombok, however, where only 9000 Balinese reside (the rest are the Mahomedan *Sesakers*), this ceremony is more frequent. During the time I spent in Bali, five or six cremations of *Gustis* took place in Lombok, and on each

occasion from four to seven women offered themselves up. This preciseness in following the ancient usages also shows itself in great offerings, which cost considerable sums, but at the same time add greatly to the fame of the prince who makes them, and strengthen him for war (*e.g.* the offerings in September, 1846). The explanation of this lies in two circumstances: first, the Balinese of Lombok, and especially their prince, are much richer than those of Bali, where even the reigning princes, through the great extension of their families, possess but little means; and secondly, the Balinese of Lombok, and particularly the present prince, are looked down upon, and said to be ignorant in their religion and their customs, by the Balinese of Bali, and especially by the *Deva agung*, whom the people of Lombok do not acknowledge. Now to refute these unfavourable opinions, they show themselves to be much more precise in the performance of their religious duties than the majority of the Balinese in Bali. During the two years of my stay in Bali, I only knew of one case of widow-burning in *Gianyar*. In all the southern states also none took place; intelligence from *Karang-Assem* and *Boleleng* is uncertain and irregular, but I heard nothing of the practice in these states either. It cannot be asserted, however, that the custom has entirely disappeared. Widow-burning is considered a necessary adjunct to the cremation of a great prince, and in the last thirty years a large number of women have actually been sacrificed in *Badong*.

Nine *Belas* were burnt with the prince of *den Passar*, *Ngrurah Made Pam'chuttan*, *Kassiman's* father, and three with the last prince but one of *Pam'chuttan*, *Ngrurah G'de Pam'chuttan* (the father of the principal wives of the present *Râja* of *Pam'chuttan*). One very young wife, who threw herself *tandakking* into the flames, was burnt with the last prince of *Pam'chuttan*, *Anak Agung Lanang* (father of the present prince).¹

Râja Kaleran Kanginan was followed by two wives; one killed herself and became *Satiawati* (see above), after the

¹ *Tandakking* on this occasion does not permit another person to *tandak* also.

example set by the wife of the *râja Salya*, one of the heroes of the *Mahâbhârata*, known here from the *Salyaparva*. *Râja Kaleran Kawan* was followed by three wives. A young wife followed *râja Halit Kassiman*, a nephew of the old *Kassiman*, who died very young. Some women also followed *Kassiman's* brother in *Belaluan*. If the dead bodies in *Den Passar*, which have already lain unburied for fifteen or twenty years, are burnt, it is doubtful whether women will follow them. The principal wives seldom follow, and in this case the deceptions cannot have the same effect upon the concubines as when they are practised upon them shortly after the death. *Râja Kassiman* prevents this burning for political reasons, as it might possibly deprive him of his prestige; another reason is the poverty of the present prince of *Den Passar*, whose revenue has been very much diminished by *Kassiman*, and who will not for years be able to amass the sum required for such a grand cremation.

CASTES.

We know from Crawford that the four Indian castes exist in Bali; we will hereafter give reasons which seem to show that *caste has also existed in Java*.

The names given by Crawford are—*Brâhmana*, *Satriya*, *Wisiya*, *Sudra*. The names *Brâhmana* and *Sudra* are correct; *Satriya* is the corrupt pronunciation of *Ksatriya*, which is found in good manuscripts (*Brahmândapurâna*, *Râmâyana*, etc.); *Wisiya* has arisen, through an oral mistake, out of *Wesya*, as the Balinese call the third Indian caste; the Sanskrit *Wâsiya* cannot be rendered otherwise in Balinese; in the Balinese letters the four words correspond closely with the Sanskrit names. We have shown in the *Usana Bali* (p. 254) that the Balinese *taling* has a mark above the line in words where it represents the Sanskrit *âi*; in the word *Wesya*, however, the idea that this *taling* answers to an *âi*, which is unpronounceable, appears to have been lost. I have never yet found the mark in the word *Wesya* in any manuscript.

The Indian names, however, are not those in common use in Bali to indicate the difference in caste. The three upper castes have names with meanings, which are used both in speaking to and speaking of each member of the caste. These titles are :—

1. *Ida* for a Brahman; this is the Balinese pronoun of the second and third person in the high language. It is also used for the titles of *Deva* and *Gusti*; but when it stands alone, it always means a Brahman, who is called *He* or *Thou*.¹ A male Brahman is called *Ida bagus*, a female Brahman, married or single, *Ida hayu*, or, contracted, *Idayu* (see below as to the word *Padanda*).

2. *Deva* is the title of a *Xatriya*, both for men and women (e.g. *Deva agung putri*). *Deva* means in Sanskrit *god*, and in the language of the stage *king* (Wilson); but in the lists of names of royal houses in India which we meet with in Tod's "Annals of *Rajasthan*," and in several inscriptions published in the "Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal," we find also the title of *deva* (or, corrupted, *dew* or *deb*) added to all the names, and we thus discover that the title of *deva* is used for all *Xatriyas*, not only in Bali, but also in India, for every one in that caste can become king, and they are also all called *Râja* in India.

3. *Gusti*² is the title for the *Wesyas*, or third caste; this name is not Indian, at least not clearly. In India the third caste is not of much importance, and we are therefore not surprised that it has not a special title.³ It is quite otherwise in Bali (and Java); but few *Xatriyas* have come here from India; there were more *Wesyas*, originally merchants, agriculturists, and artificers. Since the *Xatriyas* alone were too insignificant in number, greater honour naturally fell

¹ *Tat, avam* (for, in order to), names for the deity in the sacred writings in India, are also pronouns.

² *Gusti* is in Sanskrit "assembly, meeting; conversation, discourse; family connexions, but especially the dependent or junior branches."

³ *Arya*, it is true, is the name for a *Wesya* in India; but what does it mean? The name *Arya* for the *Xatriyas* of *Java* (and *Bali*) is to be read with a long *â* (*ârya*), and then means "one of the nation of the *Aryans* (an *Indian*, a *Persian*). According to Wilson: *Arya*, "a master, a man of the third tribe; adj. excellent; *ârya*, of a good family; respectable, venerable; apposite, proper; a master, an owner."

to the more numerous *Wesyas*. They even became kings probably in Java, and certainly in Bali, although they are always regarded as subject to the *Deva agung*, a pure *Xatriya*. For this reason a title of honour was also given to the *Wesyas*, and this is "*Gusti*." *Gusti* is never interpreted by the Balinese as anything but a name for a *Wesya*. In Java it is now used before the name of God, "*Gusti allah*," and before the names of princes of royal blood; *Gusti*, used before *allah*, indicates that the word is equivalent to *tuwan* (lord). The fact, however, that the princes of *Solo* and *Jujakarta* are called "*Gusti*," seems to indicate that this family is also of *Wesyan* descent, and that they retained this title of honour, although the name of the caste, through Mahomedan influence, had been almost lost.

4. The fourth caste, very naturally, has no title of honour. They are the born servants, and can make no claim to marks of honour. Courtesy, however, assigns to them in address the hypocritical name of "father" and "mother" (*bapa* and *meme*). In speaking of them, the term which is also applied to all foreigners (Buginese, Chinese, and Europeans) is used—*Kahula*, slave, dependent, or *wang* (= *orang*), man; they represent the *ordinary man*, while the three superior castes trace their descent from gods and demi-gods.

Mixed castes do not exist in Bali, whereas, even in the very ancient Indian law-book of *Manu*, a large number of mixed castes are enumerated. This is to be explained by the fact that too few people of the three principal castes came over to Java and Bali, and that these probably brought with them too few women, to maintain the purity of their descendants, and therefore, to prevent the extinction of the chief families, all the children remained in the caste of their father, although the mother may have been of common extraction.

In India the mixed castes arose in two ways: first, through the marriage of a man of a higher caste with a woman of a lower one; secondly, through the marriage of a woman of high caste with a man of inferior birth. The first case is not considered a disgrace to the mixed caste; the second

degrades the offspring, because this union is a disgrace; and thus we have the most despised of all Indian castes—the *chandâlas* (*Parias*), the offspring of a marriage of a female Brahman with a *Sudra*. In Bali the first kind of marriage causes no mixture of caste; the children follow the caste of the father, but are inferior to the children of high-caste women, and in matters of succession and inheritance are dealt with as of lower standing, even though they be older than their more noble brothers and sisters. The second case cannot occur, for, in Bali, all marriages of high-caste women with men of lower birth (provided they are acknowledged) are punished with death. The guilty woman is burnt alive—a hole is made in the ground and filled with combustibles, into which the woman is cast; this punishment is called *labuh gni* (to fall or be cast into the fire). The man is weighted with stones and drowned in the sea; this is called *labu batu*. This penalty, however, especially the burning of the woman, is not always carried out so relentlessly. In several cases which came to my knowledge, both the man and the woman were drowned; in another case, where the guilty man had escaped vengeance by flight, the woman, at the command of her father (a *Gusti* or *Kutta*), was killed with the creese by a relation, her mother's brother, after having been adorned with flowers and fine clothes, and rendered fearless by opium and strong drink.

There are, then, no mixed castes in Bali. In the *Usana Bali* (p. 262) different-classes of *Sudras* are mentioned, viz. *Mandesa*, *Gaduh*, *Dangka*, *Batu-haji*, *Pasek*, *Kabayan*, *Ngu-kuhin*, *Talikut*; these, however, are not different castes, but are all *Sudras*, some of whom have been degraded to this caste from that of the *Wesyas*, and still maintain, in a political sense, a higher position than the common *Sudras*.

Chandâlas, nevertheless, exist in Bali, but they are not *chandâlas* by birth; there can be none such in Bali. They are afflicted with malignant and contagious diseases, and especially *leprosy*. Such diseases are ascribed to the curse of some deity or of a *Padanda*. These persons may not reside in the *campongs*, and are found in such places as the

frontiers of two hostile states (*Mengui* and *Tabanan*), where they live in misery and without intercourse with the rest of the people. I have seen others on the high roads; their employments are named by Crawford.

BRAHMANS.

All Brahmans in Bali trace their descent from *Padanda Wahu Rawoeh*, who, according to the Brahmans of the present time, lived in or were descended from Kediri; his descendants went thence to *Majapahit*, and from *Majapahit* to Bali. According to the Javanese accounts, a number of Siva-Brahmans made their appearance in *Majapahit*, shortly before the fall of that place, from India, and fled upon the destruction of that kingdom to the East and to Bali. The statements of the Balinese upon historical and geographical subjects are extremely inaccurate. According to some, Kediri was situated in *Baratawarsa* (the holy land of India). If we accepted this as true, we should be able to reconcile the accounts of Java and Bali respecting the arrival of Siva-Brahmans at *Majapahit*; but there are many reasons against this. *Jayabaya* is said by some Balinese to have been a king in *Baratawarsa*; undoubted Javanese accounts, however, state that he ruled in *Kediri* in Java, and all the Kawi works of most importance were composed under him and his predecessor, *Ayer Langia*. The Brahmans, who composed these works, must therefore have come from India at an earlier period and acquired the Kawi language in Java. We must bear also in mind here the localization of Indian places in Java.

Wahu or *Bahu Rawuh* means "the newly-arrived" (*bahu* is the Malay *bahru*; *rawuh*, Jav.-Bal., is equal to the Mal. *datang*). He is also named *B'agawân Dwijendra*, the holy Brahman-prince (*dwija* is a Brahman, one born twice—the second time through initiation into religion and sacred literature, and through assuming the sacred band, *Upawita*). *Indra* is generally king, prince; thus we have *Gajendra*, prince of elephants, *Raksasendra*, prince of the Râksasas, namely,

Râwana. His two names, therefore, are not family-names, but merely indicate his position; he was the leader of a colony of Brahmans which came from India. Concerning his sojourn in *Kediri* or in *Majapahit* and Bali, the accounts, as we have seen, are uncertain; but, according to the accounts of the priests themselves, the five existing subdivisions of the Brahmans in Bali are descended from him and his five wives. We have:

1. *Brâhmana Kamenu*. (Kamenu is in Gianyar.) They are descended from Wahu Rawuh and a Brahmanic woman (Brahmana-Brahmanî); according to Indian notions, these alone would have the full rights and dignities of Brahmans, yet we find that, in spite of their purer descent, they do not enjoy greater honour than their brethren who are of inferior birth. The rank of the Brahmans depends upon their ability, their personal appearance, and their conduct, so that even in youth the qualities of a powerful Pandita may be recognized. The supernatural power attributed to them, and not their descent, therefore, determines the choice of the domestic priests of the princes. Political reasons also have their weight. *Brâhmana Kamenu* are found in *Boleleng*.

2. *Brâhmana of Gelgel*. (*Gelgel* is the ancient seat of the Deva-agung, already mentioned in the account of the Dutch envoys in 1635, in Crawford, I. A., vol. ii. p. 244 seq.; it is also referred to in the Malayan Manuscript of Abdullah—*Tijds. v. N. I.*, j. 7, 2^{de} deel, p. 166—where it is erroneously written *Gila gila* in the translation.) They are descendants of Wahu Rawuh and a Xatriya woman; they are called *Brâhmana-geniten*, and include most of the Brahmans in *Klongkong*, *Mengui*, *Bangli*, and those of *Sanor* in *Badong*. The last-mentioned place is chiefly inhabited by Brahmans; none of those at *Badong*, however, are of high rank, but the *Padanda Agung* of Somawati, and the *Padanda Made Aleng Kacheng* in Taman Intaran, both belonging to other subdivisions of the Brahmans, are the domestic priests of the princes. Some Brahmans in *Boleleng*, also, came originally from *Sanor*.

3. *Bráhma-na-Nuaba*. These are descended from Wahu Rawuh and a Xatriya widow (*Balu manis*, that is, “a short time married”). Their original seat is the campong *Nuaba* in *Gianyar*; hence came those of *Sindhu* in *Karang-Assem*, and of this family is the *Padanda Agung* in *Sindhuwati*, near *Taman Intaran*, who, some twenty years ago, left *Karang-Assem* for political reasons, and was received with gladness in *Badong*.¹ He is the chief domestic priest in *Badong*, and his brother or cousin in *Gianyar*.

4. *Bráhma-na-mas*; descended from Wahu Rawuh and a *Wesya* woman.² Their original seat is the campong *Mas* in *Gianyar*. The family of the *Padanda Made Aleng Kacheng* in *Taman Intaran* came from that place. He is also a domestic priest, and although he is younger than and became a *Padanda* long after the *Padanda Agung* was already a domestic priest, still, on account of his learning, his morals and the sakti ascribed to him, he is held in the highest honour in *Badong* and *Gianyar*. There are also *Bráhma-na-mas* in *Tabanan*.

5. *Brahmana kayu s'unya* (*kayu s'unya* is literally *empty tree*,—this seems to be an allusion to the position of the woman from whom they are descended, for she was a slave, and was therefore without education and learning). They trace their descent to Wahu Rawuh by a slave. To this sub-division belong part of the Brahmans in *Mengui*.

The Brahmans are very numerous in Bali; their position as regards the prince depends upon whether they are ordinary Brahmans (*Idas*) or *Padandas*, *i.e.* learned priests. The former are dependent upon the prince, must follow in war, may be employed as envoys, and may be banished from the country, if they do not strictly obey the prince's commands.

¹ He had correspondence with *Gianyar* at a time when *Gianyar*, allied with *Badong*, was at enmity with *Karang-Assem*; he therefore lost his position in *Karang-Assem*, and, together with his brother, was invited by the princes of *Gianyar* and *Badong*, received with much ceremony, and appointed to the office of domestic priest.

² In general, the *Bráhma-na-geniten*, descended from a Xatriya woman, seem to be sought after by the princes in the States governed by Xatriyas—and the *Bráhma-na mas*, descended from a *Wesya* woman, where the *Wesyas* rule—on account of their connexion with these castes.

Nevertheless, they are of higher rank than the princes, and can marry daughters of princes, while the princes may not marry Brahmanic women. On account of their large number, a considerable portion of them live in extreme poverty, and they do not disdain to cultivate the rice-fields, to engage in the fisheries, and to do manual work for money.

The *Padandas* are Brahmans who have received a complete education from another *Padanda* (their *Guru*). They must be thoroughly acquainted with religion and with literature.

In order to become a *Padanda*, they undergo all kinds of tests, to show their knowledge and their submission to the *Guru*. Thus, for instance, they place their heads under the *Guru's* foot, and drink the water that runs off his feet during his ablutions. Many other ceremonies precede their consecration, and a certain amount of wealth is required to defray the expenses, so that the dignity of *Padanda* mostly remains in a family which has already grown rich by means of this position. Others are supported and helped to become *Padandas* by the *Rajas*. The mark of the dignity is a staff, *danda*, which they receive from the *Guru*, and which gives them power to guide and to punish men in all things relating to religion. After this staff they are called *Padanda*, that is, "bearing a staff." Their other name, *Pandita*, merely indicates their knowledge; *Pandita* is "learned," and is explained in Bali by *prajnya*, Sanskrit, and *pintar*, Mal.

The domestic priest, *Purohita* (Sanskrit idem), is chosen from the *Padandas* by the prince; or sometimes the prince helps an *Ida* whom he thinks clever and upright to become a *Padanda*, and then makes him his domestic priest. He is then the spiritual teacher (*Guru*) of the prince, who becomes his *s'is'ya* or pupil, makes the *sémbah*¹ to him, and thereby shows his inferiority to the priest; he always sits on a raised seat (see Crawford, Asiatic Researches, vol. xiii. p. 110). The domestic priest is consulted in all religious and political

¹ The *sémbah* is not an ordinary token of courtesy in Bali. The upper castes only make it to the prince, and to the *Padandas* who are *Guru loka*. The reason of this is, that to the *sémbah* is added an inward formula of reverence out of a *Mantra* or the *Vedas*; by making them to other persons of rank they would humble themselves too much.

matters, and even in the ordinary affairs of life, in taking up arms, in choosing wives, etc. He alone teaches the worship of the Pitaras and conducts the cremations of the princely families. In all offerings, both domestic and for the State, the advice of the domestic priest is acted upon; he is present in his elevated place *opposite the offerings*, and blesses the ceremonies by means of prayers from the Vedas.

Sometimes the word *Purohita* is applied generally to all priests who carry the staff (*Padandas*). It is these whom Raffles heard spoken of under the name of *Maperwita* or *Mapurwita*. *Purwita* is the corrupted pronunciation of *Purohita*, which latter word I first recognized in good manuscripts; *mapurohita* (or *mapurwita*) means the being a *purohita*, or the *collective Purohitas*.¹

Guru Loka, "teacher of the world," is a name applied only to a few chosen *Purohitas* or *Padandas*, who present offerings for an entire kingdom; there are one or two of these in each of the different States in Bali. They are the special *Gurus* and counsellors of the chief prince, and are also the *Gurus* of the *loka*, of the world, or the subjects of a state.

The prince can also call other *Padandas* to perform less important religious functions, and the smaller *râjas* (who are of inferior birth) can likewise choose a *Guru* out of the rest of the *Padandas*.

The present *Guru-lokas* in the southern states, who exercise great influence upon the actions of the princes, are:—

- In *Klongkong*.—1. *Padanda Wayahan Pidada*, who is a *Brâhmana-nuaba* (*balu-manis*).
 2. *Padanda K'tut Ngrurah*, a *Brâhmana-gênitên*. He lives in the campong of *Dawan*.

In *Gianyar*.—1. *Padanda Wayahan Kakeran*, a *Brâhmana-nuaba*, cousin of the *Padanda Agung* in *Badong*. He lives in the *kadaton* of *Sindhuwati*, in the campong of *Kramas*.

¹ The explanation formerly given (*Tijdschrift voor N. I.*, Jaarg. 8, Deel 4) of *Purwita*, by means of *purva* and *ita*, thus falls to the ground.

In *Badong*.—1. Padanda *Agung*, *Bráhmána-nuaba*. He resides in *Sindhucati* (or *Somawati*), near *Taman Intaran*, and is the father-in-law of

2. Padanda *Made Aléng Kacheng*, *Brahmana-mas*, in *Taman Intaran*.

In *Tabanan*.—1. Padanda *Jumpung*, *Brahmana-génitén*, in *Pasékan*, to the north of the kadaton in *Tabanan*.

In *Mengui*.—1. Padanda *Putu*, *Brahmana kaiyu s'unya*, resides in *Kabakaba*. On account of their low birth the *Bráhmána kaiyu s'unya* appear to receive much less respect than the rest; yet we find a *Guru loka* among their number, although the men of *Badong* assert that the people in *Mengui* are grossly ignorant. But *Badong* and *Mengui* are old enemies.

The Brahmans also have many wives from among the people, but the children always remain Brahmans.¹ There is not a single one of pure blood, but, at any rate, care is taken that a Brahman does not have too much Sudra blood among his ancestors. If, in three generations, no woman of high birth has married into the family, the descendants lose all rank, and are treated by the princes as Sudras, and are obliged to perform service as vassals. It is the same with the other two upper castes.

The Brahmans' wives of low extraction, especially if they have children, are ennobled by the husband; their rank in life, it is true, is much inferior to that of women of high birth, and their husbands give them nothing (they have to maintain themselves and their children), but, after death, they are burnt as Brahmanic women, and enjoy the honour of the *Pitaras*.

¹ Raffles, App. K., p. 238, says that the children of a priest by a woman of lower rank are called *Bujangga*, but this nowhere came to my knowledge. See below respecting the word *Bujangga*. In the *Tijdschrift v. N. I.*, 7, 2, 172, subdivisions (*Pomah*, *Anggana*, etc.) of Brahmans are mentioned, whose existence I did not discover, in spite of my repeated inquiries.

The women of high birth share in all the privileges of their husbands. They are also instructed in the Vedas, *themselves present offerings with the mumbling of the Vedas*, and assist the Belas at cremations. They are also called *Padanda*, with the addition of *istri*, which is the highest title for women in Bali. (In the Sanskrit *stri* only means "woman," in Bali "princely woman," compare *putri*.)

XATRIYAS.

In India the *Xatriyas*, the second caste, are, according to law, those who, alone, bear arms and defend the country. The princes are of this caste. But, in the present day, there are no longer any pure *Xatriyas* in India; even the Rajaputras of Râjasthan are not regarded as of pure extraction. The profession of arms has thus come into the hands of the whole people. The same thing has occurred in Bali. The râjas and their families, at least, are said to be *Xatriyas*, but this is but partially the case. The highest prince, the Deva Agung, is a *Xatriya*, but most of the other princes are of the third caste, the *Wesyas*. The *Xatriyas* no doubt came to Java only in small numbers. In Java the *Usana Jawa* enumerates *Xatriyas* of *Koripan* (Panjis-seat), *Gaglang*, *Kediri*, and *Janggala*. The chiefs of the court of *Jawa* or *Kediri*, who were *Xatriyas* and *Wesyas*, are mentioned in the *Rangga Lawe*. This, the largest kingdom in Java, did not contain many *Xatriyas*; they are called *Mahisa* or *K'bo* (*buffalo*, to indicate their strength), and *Rangga* (*Jav. ronggo*, which according to *Lassen's* Anthology must mean *minister*); their names are as follow: *Mahisa Bungalan*, *K'bo Wilalungan*, *K'bo Silnman*, *K'bo Jerang*, *K'bo Kanigara*, *K'bo Chaluk*, *K'bo T'ki*, *K'bo Taluktak*, *Ki Mahisa Sapati*, *K'bo Mundarang*, and further *Rangga Smi*, *Rangga Mayang*, *Rangga Palana*, *Rangga Ralengsong*, *Rangga Pasung*, *Rangga Wirada*, *Rangga Rabete*, *Rangga Sunbi*, *Rangga Sampana*, and *Anurangga Santing*. These are all the *Xatriyas* who existed in the largest kingdom of Java. A particular sort of creese is attributed to each of them, and these creeses

have crossed over to Bali through Majapahit. The Xatriya families themselves, however, have not crossed to Bali, with the exception of the Deva Agung and his half-brothers, Arya Damar and six others. The pure Xatriyas were probably exterminated in the numerous Javanese wars, and in the destruction of Majapahit, and the royal family of the Deva Agung also seems to have once (either in Bali or Java) been on the verge of extinction, for the reigning prince *Taruia* (a youth, unmarried) had no children. Here, however, a new race was raised by a priest, *Dang hyang Kapakistan*, out of a stone, *batu henggong* (see Us. Bali, p. 344). The race thus sprung from *batu henggong* reigns in Bali at the present time, and from it the Xatriyas are descended. The descendants of the half-brothers (Arya Damar and the others) were in later times degraded to Wesyas. Thus all the Xatriyas now existing in Bali trace their descent from the Deva Agung—a fact which would surprise us, for their number is considerable, were it not that there are but few of them in Badong, Tabanan, Mengui, and Karang-Assem; and the rest can have descended from the one Deva Agung (who lived 400 years ago) just as well as 800 Gusti Pam'chuttan in Badong, counting only the heads of families who have houses of their own, and are married, may have sprung from the Râja Ngrurah Sakti Pam'chuttan (who four generations ago was prince of all Badong, excepting *Jambe*). At the present day the Xatriyas are still reigning only in Klengkong, Bangli, and Gianyar; formerly there was also a Xatriya dynasty in Boleleng, descended from the Deva Agung, and its descendants now live in Badong. This dynasty was expelled by Wesyas seven generations (?) ago. The same thing took place in earlier times in Karang-Assem.

Two hundred years ago (1633) the Xatriyas and all the princes of Bali seem still to have been subject to the Deva Agung, who is called *prince of Bali* by the Dutch envoys of that time. The authority of the Deva Agung was very much weakened by a war with Karang-Assem about a hundred years ago, in which the ancient seat of *Gélgel* (to the east of Klengkong, near the sea) was destroyed. Since

that time Karang-Assem and Boleleng, which was conquered by it, have no longer paid homage to the Deva Agung. Soon after this, also, an insignificant Deva in *Gianyar* raised himself to the rank of a great prince by expelling the relatives of the Deva Agung from the various provinces which form the present Gianyar. The new dynasty of Gianyar, however, returned to the sovereignty of the Deva Agung. *Bangli*, where a Xatriya prince also rules, acknowledged the Deva Agung until recently, but now has no connexion with Klungkong. *Tabanan* has withdrawn from the supremacy of the Deva Agung, because Karang-Assem and Boleleng do not pay him homage. Thus there remain only *Mengui*, *Badong*, and *Gianyar*, which acknowledge the Deva Agung as sovereign of Bali. Karang-Assem and Boleleng use the name of the Deva Agung as their sovereign whenever it suits their purpose, but they pay him no homage (*sêmbah*) and send no presents (or tribute) to Klungkong. *Badong* also yields him but little, and, in fact, has always been opposed to his interests, although openly it pays him homage, sends envoys to him, and contributes a little to great offerings and feasts in Klungkong.

Dessak, *Pradera*, and *Pungakan*, are names of Xatriyas who have much Sudra blood in their veins.

WESYAS.

This caste, from a political point of view, is at present the most important in Bali. To it belong the princes of *Karang-Assem*, *Boleleng*, *Mengui*, *Tabanan*, and *Badong*, and also the prince of *Lombok*. It is much more numerous than the Xatriyas. The race of the princes of *Karang-Assem*, *Boleleng*, *Mengui*, and *Lombok*, is descended from *Patih Gaja Madda*, the second general of Majapahit, who, together with Arya Damar, conquered Bali; he was a Wesya of Majapahit, while Arya Damar, the chief conqueror, was a Xatriya, and a half-brother of the prince. Arya Damar was the ancestor of the princes of *Tabanan* and *Badong*; these, however, are now Wesyas, having apparently been degraded to this caste

about 300 years ago, by the Deva Agung. The reason of this degradation is said to have been that these Xatriyas wore their hair after the manner of the Wesyas. In the present day there is no perceptible difference between the Xatriyas and Wesyas in the mode of wearing the hair; the Deva Agung wear it exactly as the ancient Kassiman did, and the young Xatriyas and Wesyas both wear theirs sometimes loose and sometimes bound up (in the Sivaitic manner) at the back of the head. The true reason was no doubt political; it was desired to humble the powerful race of Arya Damar, and the rest of the Xatriyas, who were descended from the Deva Agung, and were already very numerous at that time, endeavoured to obtain more power. This object was not attained, but the princes of Tabanan and Badong have remained Wesyas.

We have seen above that the Xatriyas of Daha and Majapahit bear the titles of *Mahisa* or *K'bo* and *Rangga*. *Patih*, *Demang*, and *Tumenggung* are given as names for the Wesyas. *Mantris*, who in Java now occupy the lowest position among the native chiefs, can, according to the Balinese, be of either caste; this is explained by the original meaning of the word *Mantri*; in Sanskrit it means "*Minister*," and is thus applicable to any one who fills this position, whether he be Xatriya or Wesya. *Patih* also was a much higher rank in ancient Java and Bali than it is in Java now; *Gaja Madda*, who is stated to be the ancestor of four princely families in Bali, and is regarded as the incarnation of Wishnu, bears the title of *Patih*. And further, the first Deva Agung (see Us. Java) appoints the conqueror of Bali and governor of *Tabanan*, *Arya Damar*, to be *Patih* or first minister, who must be consulted on all occasions. Of the Javanese titles we also find that of *B'kel* in Bali; it belongs, however, not to members of one of the three upper castes, but to Sudras, and is equal to *mandur* in Java. In Bali they are called *Parb'kel*, *Pamb'kel*, or *Prab'kel*; this name has arisen from *Prabkel*, which, like *Pragusti* and *Pradeva* (usually pronounced *Pergusti* and *Perdeva*) means the assembly of the *B'kels* (*Gustis* and *Devas*).

Of the principal Wesyias of the court of Daha¹ (Kediri), the following are named in the Usana Java: *Mantri Bawong*, *Kala Mudong*, *Tumenggung Parungsari*, *D'mang Drawalika*, *Gebob Basah*, *Lobar* (the creese of this man's shape is still used by the princes in *Karang-Assem*, according to the Pusaka in *Ngalihan*), *Kala Limpung*, *Buta Wilis*, *Bubar Baleman*, *Jalak Katengeng*. From such Wesya-families, as well as from the real brothers of Arya Damar, a great number of Balinese have sprung; but all, except the descendants of Arya Damar and Patih Gaja Madda, are of no importance, and most of them have become Sudras. A few still bear the title of Gusti and have followers, but the rest are, in all respects, like the Sudras. The reason of this is, that their forefathers in Bali were conquered and displaced by the races of Arya Damar and Patih Gaja Madda.

The Wesyias were originally intended for commerce, agriculture, and the exercise of arts and handicrafts. This is known in Bali, but the principal Gustis despise these occupations, and they are only disposed to carry on trade for the sake of obtaining the money required for opium-smoking and cock-fights. Trade, however, is not solely in the hands of the Wesyias; all the other castes, also, take part in it.

In order to become better acquainted with the present position of the Dewas and Gustis in Bali, we shall give here an account of the princely families and their descendants.

¹ *Daha* is also the name of an ancient people in India

(To be continued.)

TO ILLUSTRATE PAPER BY CAPT MOCKLER,
ON GWÁDER IN MAKRÁN.



1



2



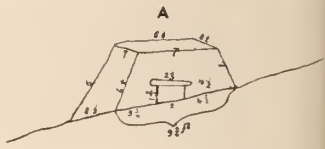
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ART. IV.—*On Ruins in Makrán.* By MAJOR MOCKLER.

GWÁDER is a seaport on the coast of Makrán (ancient Gedrosia), and Makrán the name of the southernmost portion of the country marked Baluchistán in our maps. The derivation of the word "Makrán" is doubtful; indeed, I have never heard a satisfactory derivation. Baluchistán, viz. the country of the Baluchis, is so called from the people by whom it is *now* principally inhabited, who, themselves, claim to be of Arab extraction (Arabs of the Koreish tribe), stating that they were forced to emigrate, about the latter end of the seventh century, from the neighbourhood of Aleppo, in Syria, by the tyranny of the Khalif Yezid, in consequence of their having taken the part of Husain (the martyr), grandson of Muhammad; and that, passing through Persia, they eventually reached Makrán, which they gradually overran and became masters of. Their traditions are, however, meagre and unsatisfactory. They do not appear to have preserved the name of a single place through which they passed in their journey through Persia; nor have they any recollection of the people inhabiting Makrán at the time of their advent. This state of oblivion may, perhaps, be accounted for by the gradual manner of their coming into the country, viz. clan by clan at a time; but, in the lists of their ancestors, as I have received them, many names must have been omitted.

So far, then, as the Baluchis are concerned, the ancient history of Makrán and of the people who inhabited it before this Arab invasion is buried in oblivion. But I think it possible that the Bráhui tribes, who now occupy the eastern portion of the country, may throw a gleam of light on this interesting subject. These tribes are of a race distinct from the Baluchis, and speak a totally different language (Kurdí or Kurdgáli),

which, perhaps, belongs to the Uralo-Finnish group of Turanian languages; whereas Baluchi is an Aryan tongue and a sister language to Pahlavi, which it resembles in many respects. From the account of the passage of Alexander through Gedrosia, and of the exploration of its coasts by his admiral Nearchus, little information, regarding the people then inhabiting it, can be gleaned: indeed, it may be said that absolutely nothing is known to us, with any certainty, as to its inhabitants at that time or for some centuries subsequently. Even during much later periods people have disappeared from certain localities, regarding whom nothing is known to the present occupants. As there are, however, evidences scattered, here and there, throughout the country, of states of civilization very different from that now obtaining in it, it has occurred to me that a brief description of such relics, and of any traditions connected with them, might not be altogether uninteresting, and would, perhaps, help as a guide to future inquiry.

The following paper describes certain ancient remains, lately come to my notice, which I venture to think Scythian, and, not impossibly, monuments of the ancestors of the Bráhui tribes who now occupy the eastern border of Baluchistán.

PART I.

Last year (1875), when passing by a place about forty miles to the north-west of Gwáder, called "Sutkagên Dôr" (the burnt-up torrent),—a name given to it by the Baluchis on account of the burnt wood, ashes, etc., which permeate the soil to a considerable depth,—I noticed what appeared to me part of a wall of baked bricks sticking out of the side of a cutting made by the rain; adjacent was a clump of hills crowned with towers, which had, apparently, been once connected by a rough stone wall running along the ridges of the hills.¹ This wall and the towers are, however, of recent construction, and built by the Baluchis; but, on

¹ Plate, Fig. 1.

either side of the quadrangular inclosure formed by the wall and hills, along the summit of which, part of the wall runs, is an artificial joining of one hill to another, composed of large stones, on one side some forty feet high, on the other some thirty feet above the level of the ground outside. The outer edges of these stones are all rounded off by the action of the weather, thus proving the antiquity of the structure. At Kej, the capital of Makrán, a similar work joins the hills on which the Meriee or old fort stands, but is much higher and more massive. To all such old works the Baluchis give the mythical name of Bahmani, namely, a work of Bahman (Artaxerxes, Longimanus, the Macrocheir of the Greeks). The present inhabitants of this locality claim some 300 years for the time of their occupation of it, but know nothing as to who preceded them.

I determined to try some day what digging would disclose; but it was not till February of the present year that I was able to put this design into execution. I naturally commenced operations by following up the brick wall, and, three feet under the soil, laid bare the walls of a small house, the length of which was probably about twenty-six feet by a little more than seventeen feet broad, built of baked bricks, and, possibly, once paved with stone; the greater part of three sides had, however, been carried away by rain, so that it is not possible to give the exact dimensions. The bricks of which it is composed measure in inches $12 \times 6\frac{1}{4} \times 2\frac{1}{2}$; the wall consisting of alternate courses of headers and stretchers, laid in a scientific manner. Its inside face is quite smooth and even; but on the outside, as is apparent from the dimensions of the bricks, the courses composed of stretchers project beyond those composed of headers: perhaps, this was considered ornamental. Mud from the plain was very sparingly used as mortar between the bricks. Only eight courses now remain; and, as the place where there was a door on the north side is quite plain from the finishing off of the wall, it appears that the floor of the house was but a few inches above the foundations of the walls. Nothing but broken and partly decomposed bricks,—some of which had

evidently been exposed to great heat and had become vitrified, —together with a few fragments of flint knives and charcoal, was found in the interior of the house. Trenches were then run out north and west from the outside walls. On the west side only a few fallen bricks were found; but on the north side, the corner of a stone house, paved with stone, and having a large earthen pot in the corner, was met with. The foundation of this building was four feet above that of the brick house, and was covered by nine or ten feet of earth, which latter having been cleared away, disclosed the remains of a structure consisting of a series of stone-paved platforms, bounded on two sides with the remains of a wall nearly two feet thick, which, possibly, had square pillars at unequal distances along it. Of the south end wall, only nine inches in height and a few inches in thickness remain.

At the north end, the platform and side walls end irregularly, as if torn away by water, but probably once joined the rock and Bahmani, at the foot of which this temple (?) is built. On the north-east, overlooking the building, is a small hill about forty feet high, which is artificially joined by a "Bahmani" (in construction similar to those already described) to some rocks to the westward; the object of this structure, apparently, being to protect this edifice from an overflow of the river (the Dasht), which runs about a quarter of a mile distant, and which, having overflowed its present normal bed, would have to rise sixteen feet higher, thus flooding a great extent of country, before it could do harm. The breadth of this Bahmani (or bund) at the top is about twenty-five feet, and has a gradual slope down to the plain below. It is composed, as usual, of large stones, the edges of which are now water-worn. Its height above the nearest platform of the stone building is $10\frac{1}{2}$ feet, and its end is beautifully rounded off as it meets the rock. On the inner side it is benched in towards the top, at a slope of about 1 in $2\frac{1}{2}$. On the middle platform three flat round stones, each about one foot in diameter by six inches thick, were found, which, I fancy, may have had something to do with worship—perhaps were pedestals for idols. Whether

this structure is the remains of a temple, or of a water-work (?), is hard to say; personally, I incline to the former supposition.

In the alluvial soil which covered it at about five feet above the centre was a stratum of broken pottery, charcoal, bones, flint knives, etc.; and at the north end, just where the Bahmani joins the rock, about seven feet above the last platform, there were, apparently, the remains of another platform, the underneath layers of which are, curiously enough, in part formed of baked bricks, similar to those composing the brick house first opened, thus leading one to suppose that the temple (?) is of the *same* date as the brick house (possibly later). Long and deep trenches were run in this vicinity, but without result, nothing but alluvial soil permeated with charcoal, etc., being hit upon. On the top of the eastern "Bahmani," where there is earth, a cutting was made, as also several inside the fort. Everywhere charcoal, bones (principally of fish), pottery, and stone knives, were found, but nothing else. At the foot of this "Bahmani" are two mounds composed of clay; on the summit of one of which the outlines of stone houses could be traced. Digging disclosed a number of oblong inclosures, roughly built of stone, averaging eight or nine feet in length, by four to five feet in breadth; not all pointing in the same direction, but sometimes running at right angles to each other. Some of the walls went down only a few feet, others to a depth of ten feet. Walls are also found built above walls, and running at a different angle from those immediately under them, showing that the site has been used more than once. Fragments of pottery were imbedded even in the very lowest walls; and, below their foundation, stone knives, bones, and pieces of copper were met with in great quantities.

In several of these square inclosures, wide-mouthed earthen pots about two feet and a half high, filled with earth, stones, bones (occasionally charred), teeth, charcoal, and, in one, a small stone knife, were found. The mouths appeared to have been closed by a stone; but the contents appeared to me, in all cases, to have been deposited within them by water—except

tion being, however, sometimes made in the case of the bones. From these inclosures pieces of shell and pottery, bracelets, stone cubes, beads in stone and pottery, pieces of copper bracelets, and other instruments, grinding stones, some flat-tish on one side, others round like small cannon-balls, and, near the surface, clay marbles and little earthenware pots for children to play with, were extracted. At one end of the mound the remains of what might have been a house—since in it the children’s playthings were found—was partly uncovered; this also contained a large earthen pot, and had in it three round flat stones similar to those found in the temple (?) first described. Two smaller stones of like shape occurred also in a different part of the mound, measuring only six inches in diameter, by four inches thick, and composed of a very soft and rotten stone, which seems to show that they are not portions of a pillar, as might otherwise be supposed. The people have a tradition that the sea passed close to this place in former times, when it was a *bunder*, and had its little fleet of boats. The sea is said by them, indeed, to have once reached as far as Kej; but I take this to be only the Baluchi way of accounting for the shells and other marine deposits belonging to the geological formation. A sketch of this place is annexed (Plate, Fig. 1).

PART II.

About forty miles to the westward of Sutkagên Dôr is a place called Damba Koh or Dambáni Koh (the hill of “dambs,”¹ *i.e.* cairns). A sketch of these hills (a small

¹ The word “damb” is a Baluchi word signifying a place cut off from communication with the outer world; and, regarding the stone huts described in the following paper, to which the name of “dambs” is given, the Baluchis have a tradition that, in a year of great famine, the inhabitants of a city, which then stood on this spot, collected all the old and infirm persons belonging to the community, and built them up, each in a separate living tomb; they add that to each person was given a pot of water and a certain quantity of grain, and that they were left to die; in this manner accounting for the presence in these “dambs” of the pots of which they, or others before them, have pretty well destroyed the last. They also say that the persons so confined were of very diminutive stature, corresponding with the small size of some of the “dambs.” It is noteworthy that a very similar tradition regarding what are, I imagine, remains of somewhat similar structures, is found amongst the Tamils of Southern India; see Caldwell’s Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian Languages, Appendix, p. 595.

range of hills cropping up out of the plain) is appended (see Plate, Fig. 2), and will give some idea of the appearance they present. They look, at a distance, as if they had got the smallpox; but closer inspection shows that their slopes are covered with little houses,¹ or tombs—for such they probably are—built roof and all entirely of stone obtained from the surface of the hills. They are all of them square in shape, narrowing towards the top, and each has one door with a long slab of stone for a lintel, the mouth of which generally faces up hill. They are built on the solid rock forming the face of the hill, and, owing to the great slope in some instances, the wall in which the door is placed is often not half the height of that which faces the plain below. Those who were fortunate or unfortunate enough, according to the then prevailing opinion, to be obliged to build on a more or less level site, generally made their doors facing in the common direction (here west). Some few doors, very few, however, face, *without apparent reason*, to the north, viz. at right angles to the others. This may have been a distinguishing sign of some sort.

The interior of these structures is somewhat dome-shaped, the walls being benched in towards the top so as to form part of the roof, which generally terminates in several large slabs of stone laid across the angles of those underneath, a square appearance, externally, being given by the superposition of small stones. There is not the slightest doubt that mud from the plain below was used as cement in the building of these hives,—that they were plastered inside and out,—and that they once presented a very different appearance from what they do, now that all the mud has been washed away and only the bare black stones are left with nothing to fill up the interstices between them: this is, also, borne out by the fact, that the interior of each “damb” now presents the appearance of a level floor rising to the height of the doorway, and consisting of mud and stones from the roofs and walls. The original floors, I am inclined to believe, were simply the

¹ Plate, Figs. 3, 4A, 6A.

sloping face of the rock, with, possibly, a small flat place composed of mud at the lowermost portion of the interior.—a supposition corroborated by my finding a small pot¹ and the pieces of a larger one under the earth, together with stones which had accumulated in the interior. The *average* size of these “dams” is about that given in the Plate, Figs. 4A, 6A (the most perfect one I found). The largest observed was about fourteen feet square on the outside, and of proportional height; there are also the remains of many exceedingly small ones (four feet square), probably all of which had doors, and, except in size, resembled the larger. They, however, appeared to me to be built as if having connexion with larger “dams,” or on slopes too steep for general or constant visits.

I may here confess that, although prepared, from the native description of them, to find Scythian, Druidical, or Dravidian places of burial, the impression given me by the “dams” at this particular place, “Damba Koh,” was that they were the remains of structures once occupied by living human beings, the smaller ones having perhaps been kennels, fowl-houses, receptacles for grain, etc. This idea I have, however, since rejected as untenable. The surface of the hill is covered with fragments of pottery, much of it glazed with a green enamel, and it has been all extracted from the huts and broken up by hunters after treasure. I doubt, indeed, if half a dozen huts could be found which have not been thus ransacked and pillaged. It is, perhaps, worth while to note that when those “dams,” which are square, fall to ruin, the stones of which they are composed, almost invariably, form a perfect circle. The lintel of the doorway, or the wall next to it, appears generally to give way first, and the apex of the cone-like roof falls in; the side walls then gradually subside, and, eventually, all trace (without clearing away the stones very carefully) of the former square shape, or of a doorway, is lost, and a circular ring of stones is formed with a patch of white clay in the

¹ Plate, Figs. 7, 9.

centre. I noticed some few instances in which the doorway had been built up and closed. Four of these "dams" were examined. In one a small pot, fragments of a larger one, some reddish hair, and a piece of bone were found; in the others, nothing.

The country immediately around these hills is a level plain of grey clay. The mass of the hills themselves is of the same material, tilted up by subterranean forces at a great angle, and having a superstratum of limestone or calcareous sandstone, which covers them in smooth blocks of a size convenient for building, or easily to be split into such, and of which these structures are built. The average height of the range as observed by aneroid is about 300 feet. It will be seen, from the sketch annexed (Plate, Fig. 1) that, separately from the general range, there are two hills (connected by a narrow strip of clay), which rise out of the plain to a height of seventy or eighty feet. The sides of the northernmost of the two are so steep as to be almost inaccessible; nevertheless, both hills are almost covered with the ruins of stone-built houses, the walls of which, in many instances, still remain standing several feet above the ground. The houses were built so close together that it is difficult to imagine how the inhabitants of this curious little town ever gained the open country, or, once outside, found their way home again. Most of them contained several rooms from fifteen to thirty feet square, besides smaller ones joining the main wall outside. They had doors, and small square loop-holes for windows. I partially opened three of these houses, and have not the slightest doubt that they belong to the same era as the "dams," and are the remains, in fact, of the city whose inhabitants deposited their dead in the "dams."

Below the surface the walls are generally as strong and perfect as when first built, since the mud which was used between the stones in place of mortar still remains. From the walls standing above ground nearly all the mud has long ago been washed away, and they present, generally, the same card-house-like appearance as do those of the "dams."

It is owing, indeed, to the remarkable flatness and squareness of the stones employed—found, as they were, by the builders ready cut by the hand of Nature on the hill-sides—that any of these structures have remained with the courses of stone still regular and square. So far as I could judge from the small excavations executed, the way in which these houses were built was as follows. The outside walls, generally about four feet in thickness, appear to have been first run up from the sloping rocky face of the hill, and the internal space then filled in to a certain height with clay brought up from the plain below, so as to form a level floor; after which the interior was divided into rooms by stone walls about two feet thick. The surface of the interior of the houses, as also of the hill all round, is covered with stones from the fallen walls, and with fragments of pottery exactly similar to that found about the “dams,” with stones for grinding, etc.

Out of the houses dug into, many different-shaped vessels of pottery (mostly broken), clay and stone beads of diverse shapes, stones for grinding (three kinds), stones for sharpening knives (two kinds), a shell-ring, a piece of rope-pattern pottery, a lump of oxide of iron, and a coin, were extracted. The latter, when first found, was quite unrecognizable as a coin, being covered with a thick coating of oxide of copper, which metal enters largely into its composition, though it is really a silver piece of money. Exposure to fire removed this coating, and showed it to be either Greek or Bactrian, the legend on the obverse having quite disappeared, though a head (probably that of a king), with a beard, wearing a tall crown or mitre, is still visible. On the reverse is a figure, sitting on a straight-backed chair, with one of his hands resting on his knees, and the other out-stretched, and the words ΟΚΟΜΑΓΓΟΝ, ΩΚΑΓΓΟΝ.¹ The presence of this coin, in the place where it was found, indicates a remote period for the occupation of these houses

¹ [The type here noted is a common Parthian one; but the Greek words suggested are impossible. I would propose for the first, ΘΕΟΠΑΤΡΟΥ, and for the second, ΦΙΛΩΠΑΤΟΡΟΣ.—V.]

and the construction of the "dams"; moreover, some of the pots are of a shape not used in Makrán¹ at the present day. The large grindstones are, also, not used, though they are still to be found in Yemen. On the other hand, the round grindstones are still used. The shell-ring, from its size, appears to have been made to be worn on the big toe; and, in construction and workmanship, quite corresponds with fragments of shell bracelets picked up at Sutkagên Dôr.

At the extremity of a spur, running to the eastward from the northernmost of the two hills already described, is a furnace built of long, unbaked bricks, each $16 \times 6 \times 3$ inches, and consisting, as far as can now be seen, of six parallel walls, having spaces between them for the draught to pass through and upwards. One end was probably closed, and the inner surfaces of these channels are much vitrified. From the *débris* piled up a few yards away from the furnace, which consists entirely of fragments of burnt bricks which had failed to stand the fire, but have run into a coarse lava-like glass in places, I suspect this furnace was used for burning bricks. It is true that no whole bricks were found anywhere in this locality; but, in many places among the houses, there is a fine red burnt earth, into which a stick may be easily thrust several feet deep: I would, therefore, venture to suggest that the greater part of the town on the plain below was built of burnt brick, all trace of which has long ago been effaced by water, owing to the heavy floods by which the plain is constantly inundated. This supposition helps to account for the fine red earth on the higher ground, which I believe to be nothing but decomposed red brick, and also for the disproportionate number of burial-places to houses: indeed, at Sutkagên Dôr we have actually the remains of a burnt brick house.

About five miles to the south-east of Damba Koh are remains of another place called Darmáni bán, exactly similar to that just described, in that it consists of a group of large houses, each having several rooms, and packed close together

¹ Plate, Fig. 8.

on the side of a solitary hill, with "dambs" on the hills all round. The number of houses is about 50 or 60. Of "dambs" there are perhaps 2000 or 3000; but these latter are not in nearly as good a state of preservation as those at Damba Koh. Their construction is, however, precisely the same, as are also the fragments of pottery lying about. Here also, on a small hillock rising out of the plain, are the remains of a furnace 12 ft. long by about 2 ft. broad and $2\frac{1}{2}$ ft. deep, in shape resembling a coffin with somewhat rounded ends. It is, in fact, a trench dug in the ground and lined with kneaded clay; the clay of this inner casing being from four to six inches thick, and vitrified throughout its entire length and breadth. Time did not permit of my making a more thorough examination of this place, of which I did not hear until after I had left Damba Koh.

At Jooni (properly Joonri), a place some forty miles south of Damba Koh, there are more "dambs," perhaps 300 or 400, two miles from the present village; and others, I am told, exist among the hills, six or seven miles away. Almost all of these, however, differ in shape from those at Damba Koh, being oval or circular¹ (a shape *not* resulting from the ruin of square-shaped "dambs," as their perfect walls still stand, several feet above the bare face of the rock on which they are built, and are round without corners). I found, however, three square ones also, much dilapidated. In these oval "dambs," I could discover no trace of a door. They are generally more ruined on the west side, where I should be inclined to suspect the possible existence of a door. It may be noted, too, that these "dambs" are all built on level, not sloping rock. We opened nine round and two square ones. In three of the round and in one of the square ones, nothing but a few fragments of bones were found. One round one contained pieces of a vessel containing bones, with fragments of two others, and some scraps of iron; in a second was a vessel with a flat back placed upright, and a stone for sharpening knives and bones; in a third, two copper bracelets (snake-head pattern), a carnelian

¹ Plate, Fig. 5.

bead, and bones were found; from a fourth, a copper bracelet, a small round pot with a coloured pattern, a shell ornament, a stone for sharpening knives, and some decomposed iron were extracted; a fifth contained fragments of a large copper vessel; the sixth (square "damb") contained a flat-backed pot (water?) placed upright, a copper lamp (?) or censer (?) of excellent workmanship, and bones. The centre of these "damb" appeared to be square at the bottom; and, in one, a pit had been dug through the rock for the reception of the pots, bones, etc. There is, also, at Jooni, an old Muhammadan burial-ground and the remains of a castle, with a ditch cut through the solid rock: these, however, do not date back, probably, more than some 400 years, viz. a short time before its occupation by the Shahzádeh clan of Baluch.

At a place called Gati, about six miles from Gwáder, are, also, the remains of a few "damb" (about 50); but these now consist of little more than thin circles of stones, with occasionally a slightly elevated patch of mud in the centre. Some appeared to me to have belonged to the oval type of "damb," but most of them to the square. Six were examined. In three, nothing but human bones were found; in a fourth were fragments of an iron pot, a sharpening stone, and bones; in a fifth there were two pots¹ in juxtaposition, much decomposed iron, bones, and a sharpening stone. This latter is of a peculiar kind of stone, and not pierced; one like it was found in one of the houses at Damba Koh. One of the pots is curious, the usual mouth for filling the pot being permanently closed, with a small air-hole through the top, and a twisted handle; the passage to the interior is through the spout, which is lip-shaped; it is full of, I think, earth, but its contents have not been disturbed. In a sixth, a green glazed bottle of an elegant shape, with fragments of iron and bones, was found.

The mode of interment followed in these "damb" appears to me to have been the same for all. The bones of the deceased were probably collected, after the body had been exposed to the elements and attacks of carnivora for a certain time,

¹ Plate, Fig. 10. .

and then placed, occasionally in an earthen pot, but more generally loose on the floor of the "damb." A pot containing water, and, sometimes, another with food of some kind, were invariable accompaniments, to which a knife, spear or other weapon, with a stone for sharpening it, and, also, some of the ornaments of the deceased, were occasionally added: these were, doubtless, considered desirable *impedimenta* for the departed on his journey to another world. In one of the Jooni "damb" is the provision of a lamp. None of the bones found in these "damb" bear any signs of cremation. Charred bones were, no doubt, found in the oblong inclosures at Sutkagên Dôr, but these are not "damb," and the remains at that place belong, I think, to a different people. Since my attention was first drawn, a few months ago, to the existence of these structures in Makrán—which have not been previously noticed by any European traveller in Baluchistán—I have been led to believe that they are to be found in great numbers in many parts of the country, and, also, that there are remains which may yield still more interesting results. I hope, therefore, on some future occasion, to be able to supplement my present meagre notes by more valuable information regarding Makrán antiquities.

ART. V.—*Inedited Arabic Coins.* By STANLEY LANE POOLE.

THIRD NOTICE.

(Continued from Vol. VIII. p. 296.)

A. INEDITED COINS OF ARABIA.

SOME years ago the late Colonel Seton Guthrie showed me some coins of a totally different appearance to any I had before seen. They did not, I think, form part of his collection, but belonged to a friend who had received them from a relation in the Yemen. Colonel Guthrie, however, allowed me to take impressions of them, with a view to deciphering and publishing the inscriptions at some later time when I had more leisure to devote to their inspection.

These enigmatic coins were six in number. They appeared to be all intended for *dínárs*, though the gold was very considerably alloyed in some cases, and in others there were traces of plating. The inscriptions were executed with a roughness seldom equalled even on Oriental coins; and on two or three of them there seemed an entire indifference as to the legibility of the writing. There was not, however, quite the look of forgeries about them; and I am inclined to think them genuine products of an Arabian mint where the art of coining remained still in its infancy.

It must be admitted that the evidence for their having been struck in Arabia is rather weak. One of them indeed bears the mint-name 'Aden; but this is the best-executed of all, and the character of its inscriptions does not resemble that of the others. The only argument for assigning the rest to an Arabian mint is the fact that they were found

in Arabia, and that they resemble the issues of no known mint. This is, however, merely a conjecture, except as regards the 'Aden coin, and must be valued accordingly.

The six coins may be divided into two classes. Three of them bear internal evidence of having been issued by Shi'í rulers; whilst of the other three, two exhibit the names of 'Abbásí Khalífehs, and are thus unmistakably Sunní, and the third shows no reason to the contrary.

Beginning with the 'Alawí or Shi'í coins,—those, that is, which bear the heretical formula *على ولي الله*,—I must first describe the *dínár* of 'Aden, by far the most interesting of the series. No coin has yet been published with the name of this mint, and without this specimen it would not be known that it ever was a mint-place. Besides this, the name of the King of 'Aden is entirely unknown to numismatists.

20. *N.* KING OF 'ADEN. *'Imrán ibn Moḥammad.*

Struck at 'Aden, A.H. 556 (=A.D. 1161).

Obv. Area. *لا اله الا الله*
محمد رسول الله
على ولي الله

Margin. *بسم الله ضرب بعدن سنة ست وخمسين وخمسمائة*
المظفر... الدين؟

Rev. Area. *اوحده ملوك*
الزمن ملك العرب
والحمر عمران
ابن محمد

∴

Margin obscure.

In F. Wüstenfeld's *Chroniken der Stadt Mekka*, iv. 225, 226, is the following notice of the King whose name thus appears for the first time in the field of numismatics:—"Im J. 561 wurden der Pilgern die Abgaben für den Eintritt in Mekka erlassen, um dadurch dem Fürsten von 'Aden, 'Imrân ben Mohammed ben el-Zari' el-Hamdâni, eine letzte Ehre zu erweisen, welcher für seinen beabsichtigten Besuch eine sehr hohe Abgabe bezahlt hatte; er war aber unterwegs am Fieber gestorben."¹

From this account we should conclude the king of 'Aden to have been a person of no small account in the Hijâj; and the title on his coin seems to point to the same conclusion:—*The Unique of the Kings of the Time, King of the Arabs and the Foreigners*. With regard to this last word it should be remarked that الحُمَرَاءُ is a post-classical plural, probably used in preference to the classical الحَمْرَاءُ because it corresponds in form more nearly with العرب. The expression is, I believe, unique on a coin.

In reply to a letter in which I related my discovery of this remarkable piece, my learned friend M. Tiesenhausen remarks: "Votre dinar No. 1 se rapporte à la dynastie des بنو الزريع. Imran ibn Mohammed régna en 548–560, v. Ibn Khaldoun (éd. de Boulac), iv. p. ۲۱۹, et Aboulféda, Ann. Muslem. iii. 193–195, où cette dynastie est appelée بنو الزريع."

The other two 'Alawî coins differ considerably in appearance from that just described, being much coarser in execution, so much so indeed as to be with difficulty legible.

¹ The original Arabic of El-Fâsi, of which the above is Wüstenfeld's translation, is given in the same *Chroniken*, vol. ii. p. ۲۵۶ في سنة احدى وستين وخمسمائة اطلق الحاج من غرامة المكس اكرامًا لصاحب عدن عمران بن محمد بن الزريع اليامن الهمداني الخ

21, 22. A. BANÍ-ŞULAIH. 'Alí ibn Moḥammad.

Mint and date illegible.

Obv. Area. لا اله الا الله

محمد رسول الله

على ولي الله

Margin. بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينير

Rev. Area. [لا اله الا] ؟

[الله] الامام ؟

على ابن محمد

Margin illegible.

The only difference between these two is that above the obv. of 22 there is an ornament √.

For the identification of 'Alí ibn Moḥammad I am indebted to M. Tiesenhausen. He writes: "Vu la provenance des dinars dont vous parlez, j'ose croire que *Alí ibn Moḥammed*, sur la pièce No. 2, est le fondateur de la dynastie des *بنو صالح* qui regna dans le Yémen au 5^e siècle de l'Hégire. Ibn Khallican lui a consacré une notice détaillée (v. Biogr. diction. trans. by Slane, vol. ii. p. 344, et suiv., ainsi que vol. i. p. 360-361, et iii. p. 381-382); v. aussi Aboulféda, Ann. Muslem. iii. p. 189-191; Ibn-el-Athir, Chron. ix. p. 422-423, et x. p. 19, 38; Ibn Khaldoun (édit. de Boulac, vol. iv. p. 114). La formule *الله على ولي الله* vient confirmer son dévouement pour les Fatimides."

Looking out these references we find that 'Alí the Şulaihí governed El-Yemen from 447, and Mekkah from 455, till his death in 459 (Ibn-al-Athír). Or, according to Abu-l-Fidá, he reigned from 455 to 473.

Of the other three coins the first bears the name of the Khalífeh El-Káim, and must therefore have been struck between the years 422 and 467 of the Hijreh. The inscriptions are in one or two places difficult to decipher: but the following readings are I think beyond doubt.

23. *N. Naṣr ibn 'Alī ibn El-Muẓaffar.*

Mint and date obliterated.

Obv. Area.

أبو على
لا اله الا الله
محمد رسول الله
القائم بأمر الله
رشد

Margin illegible.

Rev. Area.

ناصر
أمير المؤمنين
نصر بن الأمير
على بن المظفر
السلطان

Margin illegible.

Although the inscriptions are sufficiently clear, I am unable to identify the names with any persons mentioned in Oriental history.

In the case of No. 24 this difficulty does not occur, since there is no name to identify. The inscriptions (omitting the margins which are illegible) are simply these:—

24. *N. No name but that of the Khalīfah El-Muṭī'.*

Mint Ṣan'á? Date obliterated.

Obv.

لا اله الا
الله وحده
لا شريك له

Rev.

الله
محمد
رسول الله
المطيع لله

Obv. Margin. ضرب هذا الدين بصنعا؟

Rev. Margin illegible.

The date is approximately fixed to the years 334 to 363

by the occurrence of the name of El-Muṭī'. It cannot be supposed that the coin was actually issued by El-Muṭī'; perhaps the illegible marginal inscription contains the name of the issuer.

25. Name of prince doubtful.

Mint Ṣan'á? Date illegible.

Obv. Area.

لا اله الا

الله محمد

رسول الله

Margin. بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينار بصنعا؟

Rev. Area.

امين بن الرس

لحمر بن ال

حماسد

حسين؟

Margin illegible.

I have abandoned the reverse of this coin as hopeless. It may perhaps be explained should another example be discovered.

B. VARIOUS INEDITED ARABIC COINS.

26. *N.* AMÍR OF NÍSÁBÚR. *'Aḍud-ad-dawlah Toghán-Sháh Abú-Bakr ibn Al-Muayyad.*

Mint obliterated, year 573.

(*British Museum.*)

Obv. Area.

لا اله الا

الله محمد

رسول الله

المستضى بامر

الله

Margin (inner). سنة ثلث وسبعين

(outer). لله الامر الخ

Rev. Area. لله

الملك المعظم

عضد الدولة والدين

ابوبكر طغ

الملك اله

ساجر

Margin. محمد رسول الله ارسله الخ

27. *N.* Similar.

Nisábúr, date obliterated.

(*British Museum.*)

Obv. Area. لا اله الا

الله محمد

رسول الله

الناصر لدين

الله

Above, ornament.

Margin (inner). بنيسابور سنة

(outer). لله الامر الخ

Rev. Area. الملك المعظم

عضد الدولة والدين

ابوبكر طغانشاه

الملك المظفر

ساجر

Margin. محمد رسول الله ارسله الخ

28. *N.* Same; but date partly visible (5)77 سبع وسبعه,
and Rev. Area.

السلطان
المعظم علا الدنيا والدين
ابو المظفر تكش بن
خوارزمشاه الملك
العدل طغانشاه بن
الموید السلطان المظفر
سنجر

This Ṭoghán-Sháh was a son of Al-Muäyyad, a Mamlúk of Sulṭán Sinjar. On the death of Al-Muäyyad in 568, Ṭoghán-Sháh ascended the throne of Nisábúr.

The British Museum possesses another dínár of Ṭoghán-Sháh, but the date shows him to be a different person from the son of Al-Muäyyad. The following is a description of the coin.

29. *N.* *Ṭoghán-Sháh.*

Mint and date obliterated.

(*British Museum*).

Obv. Area.	°°	Rev. Area.	° * °
	لا اله الا		محمد رسول الله
	الله وحدد		المقتدى بامر الله
	لا شريك له		جلال الدولة
	طغان شاه		ملكشاه

Margin (inner) doubtful.

(outer). لله الامر الخ Margin. محمد رسول الله ارسله الخ

The names of Al-Muḳṭadí and of Malik-Sháh limit the date of the coin to 467-485.

30. *N. Moḥammad ibn Saḳwán.* Struck at Ḳarḳísiyá, A.H. 265
(=A.D. 879).

Obv. Area. لا الله الا
الله وحده
لا شريك له
المفوض الى الله
محمد

Margin (inner). بسم الله ضرب هذا الدين بقرقيسيا سنة
خمس وستين ومئتين

(outer). لله الامر الخ

Rev. Area. لله
محمد
رسول
الله
المعتمد على الله
احمد بن الموفق بالله
محمد بن صفوان

Margin. محمد رسول الله ارسله الخ

Ibn-al-Athír mentions a certain *أبن صفوان العقبلي* who was ejected from Ḳarḳísiyá in 269 (vii. ۲۷۱) and this Moḥammad of course must be he. The coin was shown to me by the Rev. A. Löwy—to a friend of whom it belongs. It is one of those few *dínárs* of an early date that bear the names of governors, and on that account, and by reason of its being the first known coin of Moḥammad ibn Saḳwán, it is exceedingly interesting and rare.

ART. VI.—*Further Note on a Bactrian Pali Inscription and the Samvat Era.* By Prof. J. Dowson.

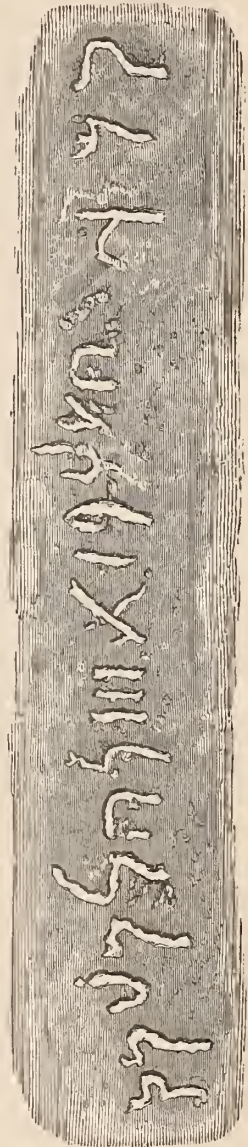
IN a late Number of the Journal (Vol. VII. p. 376) I published a fac-simile of an Inscription from Takht-i Bahi, with some readings and observations. The stone on which this inscription is graven is damaged, and the fac-simile was not satisfactory. The original stone is in the Lahore Museum, and since the date of my publication, Colonel Maclagan, Superintendent Engineer in the Panjab, has had a series of photographs taken, under his own direction, of all the sculptures in the Lahore Museum. These photographs have been arranged in a book, a copy of which has been sent to the Library of the Society. The Takht-i Bahi inscription is among them, and from this new photograph the accompanying cut has been made of the words containing the date. I must add, however, that none of the copies are as satisfactory as the rubbing first received.

The main interest of this inscription lies in the word which I read as "Samvatsarasa." There can be no doubt whatever from the context that the letters represent some form of the word Samvatsara; for the analogy of all similar inscriptions would justify the restoration of the word, even if no traces of the letters were visible. In fact, it might be restored with almost the same certainty as the words "Anno Domini" in a Christian date. If the word in question stood by itself, it could not be read with certainty; but the context and the remnants of the letters seem to make the reading certain. In the lithograph previously published, the most doubtful letter was the medial compound *tsa*; but in the present copy that character comes out with sufficient distinctness. The most important letter is the final, which I read *s*. It is but a remnant, but what is left is very sug-

gestive of that letter. Here again the context removes the doubt. The next word is undoubtedly *satimae* "in the hundredth;" so that the previous letter must be part of the word "Samvatsara." The letter *sa*, the sign of the genitive, is the only letter that would make sense, and that accords with the remnant of the half-lost letter. So, I read still, and, if possible, with more certainty than before, the words "*Samvatsarasa satimae*," "In (the year) one hundred of the Samvat."

There appears in the engraving something which closely resembles the letter *l*; but after a careful examination of the photograph, I am satisfied that this is the result of an accidental flaw, by which the letters *ts* and *r* have been joined. Its sharpness and brightness show it to be of more recent production than the writing, and it is out of the regular line, and has not the space it would occupy were it a distinct letter.

My reading of the word Samvatsara has received the assent of that excellent scholar and critic Bábú Rájendra Lál, but Mr. Thomas in his paper (*suprà*, p. 10) has demurred to it. I have nothing to add on that point to what I have already advanced. Mr. Thomas's own words are, "I am unable to concur in the reading of Samvatsara, or to admit, if such should prove the correct interpretation, that the word *Samvatsara* involved or necessitated a preferential association



with the Vikramáditya era, any more than the Samvatsara (J.R.A.S. Vol. IV. p. 500) and *Samvatsaraye* (*ibid.* p. 222), or the abbreviated *San* or *Sam*, which is so constant in these Bactrian Páli Inscriptions, and so frequent on Indo-Parthian coins." My contention is that the word *Samvatsara*, or its abbreviation *San*, wherever used alone, must be understood to mean the *Samvatsara* of Vikramáditya until the contrary is shown. *Samvat* and *Samvatsara* have designated the era of Vikramáditya for at least a thousand years, and it is not to be assumed, without any proof, that the word was ever used absolutely for any other era. There have been other *Samvats*, but then they have been called by their specific names, as *Ballabhi Samvat*; and the word *samvatsara* has been used simply for the word year, but then the era has been distinctly stated, as I before pointed out. The word *Samvat* has been so long absolutely used for the era of Vikramáditya that it has the right of a lengthened possession, and it is not to be set aside without distinct proof.

This word has offered a tempting gap in the tangled mazes of Hindu chronology for escaping difficulties and arriving at a conclusion, right or otherwise. A more strict adherence to the meaning it has so long borne is due to it, and will, it is to be hoped, lead to more satisfactory results.

What Mr. Thomas has said about "the exceptional use of the figure for 100" seems, as he says, possible, and at any rate, I think it more probable than my own suggestion in the former paper.

ART. VII.—*Notes on Persian Belúchistán. From the Persian of Mirza Mehdy Khán. Published Teheran, July, 1875.*

THE part of Belúchistán now under Persian rule is bounded upon the north by Seistán, upon the east by Panjgúr and Kej, upon the south by the Indian Ocean, and upon the west by Núrámshír, Rúdbár, and the Báshákerd mountains.

This country enjoys a variety of climates; almost unbearable heat exists on the Mekrán coast, we find a temperate climate on the hill slopes and on the slightly raised plains as at Duzek and Bampúr, and a cool climate in the mountainous districts Serhad and Bazmán. The heat at Jálq is said to be so intense in summer that the gazelles lie down exhausted in the plains, and let themselves be taken by the people without any trouble.

The hot districts produce principally dates, mangoes, bananas, rice, and cotton; in the cooler districts the fig, vine, pomegranate, orange, lemon, mulberry, pear, apple, apricot, plum, peach, walnut and Konár (*Zizyphus jujuba*) are plentiful, and all districts excepting one or two on the sea-coast have more or less wheat, barley, millet, maize, and all kinds of vegetables; among the latter the bean and onion principally excel. In Mekrán grows the Jam fruit, which is described as “a fruit like the mango, but smaller; in colour and size it resembles much the Konár, and its taste is sour.” The Serhad district has many sanjed, or wild olive-trees (*Elacagnus angustifolia*), and is noted for its pomegranates without stones. The mountains in the northern parts are covered with the Bench (turpentine-tree, *Pistacia acuminata*), the Arjan (*Amygdalus orientalis*), and the bitter almond. In the Serhad district grows a curious herb; it is like the camel-thorn (*Hedysarum alhagi*), and produces a fruit which the people eat. Of the herb they

make the following preparation:—They strew on it a soft kind of earth, which they let get penetrated by the juice of the herb for a few days, till it has acquired a sour taste. The earth is then collected and put by for use. A little of the earth is put into some water and well stirred up. The water when clear is drunk at meals, and makes a very palatable sherbet.

Of the animal kingdom there are mentioned the cow, camel, ass, and sheep; leopards, panthers, and wolves are sometimes seen in the mountains, wild asses (*onagers*) and hogs are scarce, gazelles, partridges, and tíhú (*Amnoperdis griseogularis*) are plentiful. The durráj (*Perdix francolinus*) is found in Bampúr and Dasht.

The only articles of manufacture seem to be Kerbás, a rough cotton stuff, generally blue, and a brown woollen cloth.

We begin our enumeration of the different districts with that of Serhad, which lies at the extreme north. It is the best district of Belúchistán, and much desired for its good climate, its fruits, its mines, villages, etc. It pays a steady revenue to the Government. Its warm season is like that of Kerman. In spring-time so many partridge eggs are found on the mountains that the people have no need of fowls' eggs at all. Most of the inhabitants live in black tents. A very high mountain chain called the Kúh i Gúgerd (Sulphur mountain) crosses this district from east to west; this chain is eighty miles in length, has the Sengúyeh river on the east and the Názil on the west; the tops of these mountains are always covered with snow. In the midst of the mountain, near a crater from which smoke is still emitted, is a sal ammoniac mine; the salt is dug out by long spades. All round the crater are great quantities of sulphur, which there boils out of the ground and covers it with thick layers. Red sulphur (Cinnabar?) is also found in these mountains, but the author does not know where. Two kinds of earths, one red, the other black, used for dyeing, are plentiful. Nine or ten miles from the crater is an old lead-mine not now worked. There is a very high peak, difficult of access, called Kúh i

Kunj (corner mountain), near to which is a hill with a great cave or hole. Seventy years ago Mirza Rezá, chief of the Mír Belúch Zahi tribe, ascended this mountain, and let one of his men, tied to a rope, down into the hole. The man said afterwards that he had seen some pots of large size, but had not gone into the cave. The people of the neighbourhood say that at the foot of the hill many coins were found in ancient times, and therefore believe the pots to contain money. The author tried to get some coins, but could not find any. He noticed some forsaken mines, he does not know of what minerals, in the Múr pích (name signifying difficulty of access, necessitating twisting and turning about like an ant going into its hill), and in some other mountains in this district.

The villages of Serhad are Khásh, Sengúyeh, Tamín, Gúsheh, Názil, Deh-i pamíl, Deh-i bálá, Gezúyeh and Ládez, with a total of seventy-three canals, of which thirty-two are in good order, and a good supply of river water. The tribes in Serhad are either Belúch or Persian. Of the former are the tribes of Yár Ahmed Zahi with 500 families, Ghamshád Zahi, Ríkí, Mír Belúch, each with 100 families, and the Súrí, Mázár, Shálí ber, Sohráb zahi, Bámrí, Burhán zahi, Jemshíd zahi, Jehán Shah, and Sálár Zahi, with about thirty or forty families each. The Persian tribes are the Shameh dín and Gúsheh, Keremzahi, Háshemzahi and Kháshí with 100 families each, and Tamíní and Ládezi with thirty families each. The total population of Serhad is 1425 families.

The next district is Duzek. This is a large district on the skirts of the mountains, its climate is very hot and its water very bad. Its villages are Duzek with 200 families, Zengían and Dashtúk with 150 families, Purregán and Shastán with 300 families, and Bakhshán, Húshek, Bampusht, Návúgh, Hítek, Nákán, Kalpúrekán, Dehek, Isghandeh, and Kúhek, each with about fifty families. The tribes in this district are the Buzurg zádeh, Mulla zádeh, Sipahi, Darzádeh, Gulshizádeh, Belúch, the Seyeds and Serdárs, Dehdári, Kúkri, Fanúj, Kefásh, Zaranzahi, Kedkhodá, Dehkán, Mashhúr,

Bakhshání, and Turkí; they count a total of 2200 families. This district has very little water, only twenty-six canals (of which five are ruined), some dry in summer, and a few springs of brackish water barely enough for the population. Kúhek is a strong castle, built in ancient times; it was taken A.H. 1290 (two years ago) by the Vakíl ul Mulk's army. Near the sepulchre of a holy man in Kúhek castle is a well 233 feet deep. Whenever the castle is besieged, and its inhabitants cannot get any water from the canals outside, the well boils up to within thirty or forty-five feet from the top, and the people can reach the water easily. On a tablet of the tomb is an inscription which may be translated as follows :—

“Call forth the water from your cistern,
And be the saviour of both low and high.”

Nawáb Amír Muhammed, who passed here on a mission from Hindustán to Persia A.H. 1013 (A.D. 1605), relates this.

The third district is Jálq, very hot and damp. The village Jálq has three castles, two canals with little water, and 400 families. The other village of the district is Gulgán; it lies on a river, and is inhabited by 100 families. This district is very poor.

Sibb, a hot and very bad district. It has the villages Sibb, Súrán, Pas i Kúh, (lit. “behind the mountain”) Kend, Kesht, Múltán, and Heidúj. Súrán is the principal place with 400 families; the total population of the district consists of 1940 families belonging to the Chálí zahi, Sadeq zahi, Serdár, Askáni, and Mashkídí tribes. Water is scarce in this district; only six canals and three springs are enumerated. North of Kesht, in the Kúh i safíd (white mountain), is, according to an old legend, a gold and silver mine.

Iráfshán is a small district, with a population of 500 families. The villages in it are Iráfshán, Afshán, and Ashár; Iráfshán lies on a high sand-hill; A.H. 1280 (A.D. 1863) its people rebelled, and the author was sent to

bring them to submission; he took the castle after three days' siege. The district is plentifully supplied with water, having two canals and some rivers of good water running through it.

Makas is an unimportant district; it has the villages Makas, Gúrán, Shárek, Geh, Magár, and Chadrek, six canals, some springs, and a population of 270 families. The hills in this district produce cummin seed.

Sarbáz (falcon head). This is an important district on the east of Persian Belúchistán; a large river, 100 yards in width, passes through, villages lie on both sides, and it supplies the irrigation of the whole district. The villages in this district are Sarbáz, Nasqand, Kúimárg, Kúhrúk, Kúhwand, Kashkúr, Pardú, Dapetkúr, Páshámek, Fírúzábád, Rask, Baftán, and Píshín, with a total population of 1490 families. Kúhwand and Kashkúr are inhabited by a tribe who call themselves Zekeris. They do not believe in any religion, and permit incestuous marriages. The founder of this sect was Dáhí, now dead. The author tried his utmost to get any further information, but he found not a man who could explain anything to him. He says, "Truly they are idiots, there is not an intelligent person among them."¹

Píshín is the only village which does not lie on the river. It is situated between Sarbáz and Kej. In the year 1279 (A.D. 1862) the author found the Píshín people in a state of rebellion; they would obey neither the Sarbáz nor the Kej chief. In the year 1281 he took the place after five days' siege. Since then the place has paid its revenues regularly.

The Mekrán district is very hot, damp, and unhealthy, and its water is very bad; as it is very large, it is again divided in several smaller districts.

1. Qasrqand (on old maps Kussurkund), chief place of Mekrán, with a strong castle on a high hill, the seat of the

¹ From different people who passed the village Kúhwand I heard some horrible stories regarding the Zekeri sect. I can hardly believe the stories to be true. The name of the sect is taken, according to these travellers, from the object the members of the sect venerate most, the only object they worship.—A.H.S.

Governor, and inhabited by 230 families. Near it lie the villages Heit, Bek, and Shárek. The population of the district is 780 families. The district is watered by twenty-eight canals (of which ten are in bad order) and a river; produces the best woollen stuff in Belúchistán, and is famous for its herds of black gazelles, which are principally to be seen in the plain near Qasrqand.

2. Peh has besides Geh the villages Hiján and Bent, each with 200 families. The whole district has a population of 800 families, and is irrigated by fifteen canals. Between Bent and the Báshákerd mountains is the Ahan Kúh (iron mountain), in the ravines of which after heavy rains copper is found. On account of its purity, goldsmiths buy it to use for alloy.

3. Dasht, a small district on the sea-coast south of Qasrqand, with 550 families; it has no water but that which rainfall gives. The rain water is kept in cisterns. Agriculture there is none.

4. Kúcheh and Bhow, west of Dasht, also on the sea-coast. It has much water, and magnificent cattle. Kúcheh has a population of 2,400 families, Bhow one of 1,200.

Láshár is a hot district, with villages Píp, Kúyej, Kerdehan, and Qala' áb gáh (castle with water place), nine canals, a river, and a population of 550 families.

Bampúr is the seat of the Belúchistán government; it has an old and much-ruined castle, which lies on a hill, and contains soldiers, guns, and stores. Ten miles east of Bampúr is the source of the Bampúr river. After a heavy rain this river rises so much as to destroy all agriculture, if no care be taken; the fields all along the river and the canals are protected by dams. The great dyke is much ruined, and will cost 4,000 tománs (£1,600) to repair. Bampúr has a population of 1,260 families. The tribes in this district are the Bámri, Sábegí, Márúi, Hót, Zein ul dín, and Sháliber. The district also contains the village Fehrej, with eighteen canals and 350 families.

Chámp is a small district with three villages,—Chámp, Nekúch, and Keshík; and a population of 500 families. The

people of this district formerly paid taxes to Government; now, however, instead of paying taxes, their men serve the Governor of Belúchistán as gunbearers. They are said to be all warriors, and to fight well.

Fannúj, with the villages Fannúj, Ramek, Mehterabad, Asfand, and Ketíj, a total population of 640 families, and a water supply from four canals, one spring, and two rivers.

Bazmán lies south of Serhad, west of Sibb, and twenty farsakhs (70 to 80 miles) north of Bampúr. It has a high mountain like Demavend, seven springs of good water, and a population of 200 families.

There are still seven small districts to be mentioned. They are: Abtar, with fifty families, and twelve canals; Dáman, with 250 families, two canals, and the Súhran mountain with an old mine; Aprandegán, with 300 families, and a river; Asfehgeh, with 100 families, and two canals; Súrmíj, with fifty families, and four springs; Meskútán, with 120 families, and three canals; and Pushteh, with 300 families. The sea-ports of Belúchistán are unimportant, eleven are mentioned.

Chah Bahar (on maps generally Charbar) is the most important port. In the year 1289 (three years ago) it was taken by the Vakíl ul Mulk's army. The English have a telegraph office here, a fine building (built 1869). The water is kept in wells and is bad; the population amounts to 100 families, who live near the castle. Before the capture of 1289 there were almost 1,000 families at Chah Bahar, but nearly all the people fled when they heard of the approach of the Persian army. The population is now again increasing, and the town is well looked after by the Mayor, Muhammed Khán.

Tís, a very ancient place, and now in ruins. In the year 1282 the Vakíl ul Mulk heard for the first time (*sic*) of this port in Mekrán, and the author was sent, accompanied by Abdullah Khán, to take the place. Tís was taken without difficulty, and twenty families of the Dasht district were put into it to counteract the rebels. A strong citadel was built by Muhammed Hussein Kermání, but when the author inspected it, one side, the one looking to the sea, was not yet

finished (this was last year). The drinking water is in wells, and sweeter than that of Chah Bahar. A great reservoir for rain water has also been built.

Páreg, ten miles west of Tís, has twenty families. Its principal trade is in salt, which is white and sweet; it is liked throughout all Belúchistán, and is also exported to Masqat (Maskat).

The ports of Pajam, Shik, Káleg, Rákhej, Sadkej, Kenárek and Gwátter are only little fishing villages, with very bad anchorages. Kenárek and Gwátter have each thirty families, all the others have only ten to twenty. Gwátter belongs to the Bhow district, and its trade is principally in wood, which is exported to Masqat. The plains and mountains near Gwátter are covered with forests.

The author judges the population of Persian Belúchistán to be nearly 250,000.

This is the report on Persian Belúchistán given by the author, Mirza Mehdy Khán, to Government. It will be seen that no names of rivers are given, hardly any geographical notices, and no statistics as to revenues, and some other details necessary to a report of this kind are omitted. Nevertheless, this report is a great advance on those of old times. I do not remember having ever seen anything like it emanating from a Persian before this.

A. H. SCHINDLER.

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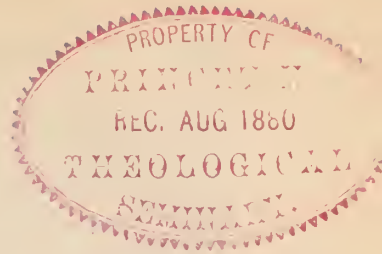
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Vol. III (Inhalt wie bei Vol. II).

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JOURNAL

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THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

ART. VIII.—*The Early Faith of Aśoka*. By E. THOMAS, F.R.S.

IN most of the modern discussions on the ancient religions of India, the point at issue has been confined to the relative claims to priority of Buddhism and Brahmanism, a limitation which has led to a comparative ignoring of the existence of the exceptionally archaic creed of the Jainas.

This third competitor for the honours of precedence has lately been restored to a very prominent position, in its archæological *status*, by the discovery of numerous specimens of the sculptures and inscriptions of its votaries on the sacred site of Mathurá, the *Μόδουρα ἡ τῶν Θεῶν* of the Greeks,¹ that admit of no controversy, either as to the normal date or the typical import of the exhumed remains.

This said Mathurá on the Jumna constituted, from the earliest period, a "high place" of the Jainas, and its memory² is preserved in the southern capital of the same name, the *Μόδουρα, βασιλεῖον Πανδίου* of Ptolemy, whence the sect, in after-times, disseminated their treasured knowledge, under the peaceful shelter of their *Matams* (colleges)³ in aid of

¹ Ptolemy, *Μέθορα*, Arrian (quoting Megasthenes), *Indica* viii. *Methora*, Pliny, vi. 22.

² F. Buchanan, Mysore, iii. 81, "Uttara Madura, on the Jumna."

³ The modern version of the name of the city on the Jumna is मथुरा *Mathurá*. Babu Rajendralála has pointed out that the old Sanskrit form was मधुरा *Madhurá* (J.A.S. Bengal, 1874, p. 259), but both transcriptions seem to have missed the true derivative meaning of मठ *Maṭha* (hodie مَسْجِدٌ), "a monastery, a convent or college, a temple," etc., from the root मद् "to dwell,"

local learning and the reviving literature of the Peninsula.¹

The extended geographical spread of Jaina edifices has lately been contrasted, and compactly exhibited, in Mr. Fergusson's Map of the architectural creeds of India;² but a more important question regarding the primary origin of their buildings is involved in the sites chosen by their founders: whence it would appear that the Jainas must have exercised the first right of selection, for the purposes of their primitive worship, of the most striking and appropriate positions, on hill-tops and imperishable rocks,³ whose lower sections were honey-combed with their excavated shrines—from which vantage-ground and dependent caves they were readily displaced, in after-days, by appropriating Buddhists on the

as a hermit might abide in his cave. The southern revenue terms have preserved many of the subordinate forms, in the shape of taxes for "Maths." Rajputána and the N.W. Provinces exhibit extant examples in abundance of the still conventional term, while the distant Himálayas retain the word in *Joshi-Math*, *Bhairava-Math*, etc. The Vishnu Purána pretends to derive the name from *Madhu*, a local demon (i. 164), while the later votaries of Krishna associate it with the Gopí's "churn" *math*.—Growse, Mathurá Settlement Report, 1874, vol. i. p. 50.

¹ "The period of the predominance of the Jainas (a predominance in intellect and learning—rarely a predominance in political power) was the Augustan age of Tamil literature, the period when the Madura College, a celebrated literary association, appears to have flourished, and when the *Kural*, the *Chintámani*, and the classical vocabularies and grammars were written."—Caldwell, p. 86. See also p. 122. "The *Jaina cycle*. I might perhaps have called this instead *the cycle of the Madura Sangam or College*."—p. 128. Dr. Caldwell, *Grammar of the Dravidian Languages*, London, 1875.

² *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*; Murray, London, 1876, Map, p. 47.

³ The late Mr. G. W. Traill has preserved an illustration of the innate tendency of the aboriginal mind to revert to primitive forms of worship, which almost reminds us of the party-coloured Pigeons of Norfolk Island, which, when left to their own devices, reverted to the normal type of Blue Rock. He observes: "The sanctity of the Himalaya in Hindu mythology by no means necessarily implies the pre-existence of the Hindu religion in this province (Kumaon), as the enormous height and grandeur of that range, visible from the plains, would have been sufficient to recommend it as a scene for the penances of gods and heroes. . . . The great bulk of the population are now Hindus in prejudices and customs, rather than in religion. Every remarkable mountain, peak, cave, forest, fountain and rock has its presiding demon or spirit, to which frequent sacrifices are offered, and religious ceremonies continually performed by the surrounding inhabitants at small temples erected on the spot. These temples are extremely numerous throughout the country, and new ones are daily being erected; while the temples dedicated to Hindu deities, in the interior, are, with few exceptions, deserted and decayed."—G. W. Traill, *As. Res.*, xvi. p. 161. See also *J.R.A.S.* Vol. VIII. p. 397; Vol. XIII. "Khond Gods," pp. 233-6; "Aboriginal Gods," p. 285. *Hunter's Rural Bengal*, pp. 130, 182, etc.

one part, or ousted and excluded by the more arrogant and combative Brahmans on the other.

The introductory phase in the consecutive order of the present inquiry involves the consideration of the conflicting claims to priority of the Jainas and the Buddhists. Some half a century ago, Colebrooke, echoing the opinions of previous commentators, seems to have been fully prepared to admit that Buddhism was virtually an emanation from anterior Jainism. We have now to examine how far subsequent evidence confirms this once bold deduction. Unquestionably, by all the laws of religious development, of which we have lately heard so much, the more simple faith, *per se*,¹ must be primarily accepted as the precursor of the more complicated and philosophical system,² confessing a common origin.

Colebrooke summarized his conclusions to the following effect :

“It is certainly probable, as remarked by Dr. Hamilton and Major Delamaine,³ that the Gautama of the Jainas and of the Bauddhas is the same personage: and this leads to the further surmise, that both sects are branches of one stock. According to the Jainas, only one of Mahāvīra’s eleven disciples left spiritual successors: that is, the entire succession of Jaina priests is derived

¹ “The ritual of the Jainas is as simple as their moral code. The *Yati*, or devotee, dispenses with acts of worship at his pleasure, and the lay votary is only bound to visit daily a temple where some of the images of the *Tirthankaras* are erected, walk round it three times, and make an obeisance to the images, with an offering of some trifle, usually fruit or flowers, and pronounce some such *Mantra* or prayer as the following: ‘*Namo Arihantānam, Namō Siddhānam*,’ . . . ‘Salutation to the *Arhats*,’ etc. A morning prayer is also repeated: . . . ‘I beg forgiveness, O Lord, for your slave, whatever evil thoughts the night may have produced—I bow with my head.’ . . . The reader in a Jaina temple is a *Yati*, or religious character; but the ministrant priest, the attendant on the images, the receiver of offerings, and conductor of all usual ceremonies, is a *Brahmān*.”—Wilson’s *Essays*, vol. i. p. 319. “I may remark, parenthetically, with a view to what is still to be established—that the Khandagiri Inscription opens with the self-same invocation, ‘*NAMO ARAHANTĀNAM, NAMO SAVA SIDHĀNAM*,’ ‘Salutation to the *arhantas*, glory to all the saints’ (or those who have attained final emancipation!).”—Prinsep, *J.A.S.B.* vol. vi. p. 1080.

² “Buddhism (to hazard a character in a few words) is monastic asceticism in morals, philosophical scepticism in religion; and whilst ecclesiastical history all over the world affords abundant instances of such a state of things resulting from gross abuse of the religious sanction, that ample chronicle gives us no one instance of it as an original system of belief. Here is a legitimate inference from sound premises; but that Buddhism was, in very truth, a reform or heresy, and *not* an original system, can be proved by the most abundant direct testimony of friends and enemies.”—B. H. Hodgson, *J.R.A.S.* (1835), Vol. II. p. 290.

³ Major J. Delamaine, *Trans. R.A.S.* Vol. I. pp. 413-438.

from one individual, Sudharma-swámí. Two only out of eleven survived Mahávira, viz. Indrabhúti and Sudharma: the first, identified with Gautama-swámí, has no spiritual successors in the Jaina sect. The proper inference seems to be, that the followers of this surviving disciple are not of the sect of Jina, rather than that there have been none. . . .

"I take Párşwanátha to have been the founder of the sect of Jainas, which was confirmed and thoroughly established by Mahávira and his disciple Sudharma. . . . A schism, however, seems to have taken place, after Mahávira, whose elder disciple, Indrabhúti, also named Gautama-swámí, was by some of his followers raised to the rank of a deified saint, under the synonymous designation of Buddha (for Jina and Buddha bear the same meaning, according to both Buddhists and Jainas)."—Transactions of the R.A.S. (1826), Vol. I. p. 520; and Prof. Cowell's edition of Colebrooke's collected Essays, vol. ii. p. 278.¹

At the time when Colebrooke wrote, the knowledge of the inner history of Buddhism was limited in the extreme. Our later authorities contribute many curious items and suggestive coincidences, tending more fully to establish the fact that Buddhism was substantially an offshoot of Jainism. For example, Ananda is found, in some passages of recognized authority, directly addressing Gotama *himself* in his own

¹ Professor Wilson, writing in 1832 on the "Religions Sects of the Hindus," objected to this inference of Colebrooke's, on the ground of the supposed contrast of the *castes* of the two families. It is, however, a question, now that we know more of the gradual developments of *caste* in India, whether the divisions and subdivisions, relied upon by Prof. Wilson, had assumed anything like so definite a form, as his argument would imply, at so early a period as the date of the birth of Sákya Muni. Professor Wilson's observations are as follows:—"When MAHÁVIRA's fame began to be widely diffused, it attracted the notice of the *Brahmans* of *Magadha*, and several of their most eminent teachers undertook to refute his doctrines. Instead of effecting their purpose, however, they became converts, and constituted his *Ġaṇadhara*s, heads of schools, the disciples of MAHÁVIRA and teachers of his doctrines, both orally and scripturally. It is of some interest to notice them in detail, as the epithets given to them are liable to be misunderstood, and to lead to erroneous notions respecting their character and history. This is particularly the case with the first INDRABHÚTI, or GAUTAMA, who has been considered as the same with the GAUTAMA of the *Bauddhas*, the son of MÁYÁDEVÍ, and author of the Indian metaphysics. That any connexion exists between the *Jain* and the *Bráhmaṇa* Sage is, at least, very doubtful; but the Gautama of the *Bauddhas*, the son of ŚUDDHODANA and MÁYÁ, was a *Kshatriya*, a prince of the royal or warrior caste. All the Jain traditions make their GAUTAMA a *Brahman* originally of the *gotra*, or tribe of GOTAMA *Rishi*, a division of the *Brahmans* well known and still existing in the South of India. These two persons therefore cannot be identified, whether they be historical or fictitious personages."—H. H. Wilson's Essays, vol. i. p. 298; Asiatic Res. vol. xvii.

proper person, and speaking of the "twenty-four Buddhas, who had immediately preceded him."¹ On other occasions the twenty-four Jaina *Tirthankaras* are reduced in the sacred texts of their supplanters to the six authorized antecedent Buddhas, or expanded at will into 120 *Tathāgatas* or Buddhas, with their more deliberately fabulous multiplications.²

The Mahāwanso, in like manner, has not only allowed the reference to the "twenty-four supreme Buddhos" to remain in its text,³ but has given their conventional names—which however have little in common with the Jaina list—in the order of succession. Mahanāmo's Tíká⁴ has preserved the catalogue, in its more complete form, specifying the parentage, place of birth and distinctive "*Bo-trees*"⁵ of each of the "twenty-four *Buddhos*," and concluding, after a reference to Kassapo (born at *Benares*), with Gotamo (a Brahman named Jotipālo at Wappula), "the *Buddho* of the present system, and *Mettéyo* [who] is still to appear." This amplification and elaborate discrimination of sacred trees has also a suspicious air of imitation about it, as we know that Ward was only able to discover six varieties of Indian trees nominally sacred to the gods,⁶ and Mr. Fergusson's exami-

¹ Spence Hardy, *Manual of Buddhism*, pp. 88, 94, 311.

² B. Hodgson, *Asiatic Researches*, vol. xvi. p. 444, "Sarvārthasiddha observes, he has given so many [120] names *exempli gratia*, but his instructors were really no less in number than 80 crores." In other places Mr. Hodgson expresses his doubts "as to the historical existence of Śākya's six predecessors."—*Works*, p. 135, and *J.R.A.S.* Vol. II. p. 289. See also Csoma de Kőrös, *J.A.S.B.* vol. vii. p. 143. "Immense is the number of such Buddhas that have appeared in former ages in several parts of the universe."

³ Cap. i. p. 1.

⁴ Mahāwanso, *Turnour's Introduction, Ceylon, 1837*, p. xxxii.

⁵ The "*Bo-trees* of the twenty-four Buddhos" are given in the following order (Mahāwanso, p. xxxii):

1. Pippala.	9. Sonaka.	17. Assana.
2. Sálakalyána.	10. Salala.	18. Amalaka.
3. Nāga.	11. Nīpa.	19. Pátali.
4. Do.	12. Welu.	20. Pundariko.
5. Do.	13. Kakudha.	21. Sála.
6. Do.	14. Champá.	22. Sirísa.
7. Ajjuna.	15. Bimbajála.	23. Udumbara.
8. Sonaka.	16. Kaniháni.	24. Nigrodha.

As this list is quoted merely to contrast the numbers 24 against 7, it would be futile to follow out the botanical names of the various *Bo-trees*; but it may be remarked *en passant*, that No. 3 is a tree of the wet forests of Assam, Concan, Malabar, and Ceylon, while No. 11 is a palm-like plant which is entirely *maritime*, and abounds in the Sundarbans, wherein we have no record of Buddhist "sittings."

⁶ Vol. i. p. 263.

nation of all the extant Buddhist representations of their Bo-trees does not carry the extreme total beyond the legitimate "six or seven species altogether."¹

Another indication which may prove of some import in this inquiry is to be gleaned from the Chinese text of the Travels of the Buddhist Pilgrim *Fah-Hian* (400—415 A.D.), which, in describing the town of Srāvastī, proceeds to advert to "the ninety-six heretical sects of mid-India," who "build hospices" (*Puṇyasālās*) etc., concluding with the remark, "Devadatta also has a body of disciples still existing; they pay religious reverence to the three past Buddhas, but not to Śākya Muni."²

Again, an instructive passage is preserved in the Tibetan text of the *Lalita-vistara*, where, under the French version, "Le jeune Sarvārthasiddha,"³ the baby Buddha, is represented as wearing in his hair the *Śrīvatsa*, the *Svastika*, the *Nandyāvarta* and the *Vardhamāna*, the three symbols severally of the 10th, 7th and 18th Jaina Tīrthankaras, and the fourth constituting the alternative designation of Mahāvīra, and indicating his mystic device, which differed from his ordinary cognizance in the form of a lion.⁴ Further on, the merits

¹ Tree and Serpent Worship, p. 116. Among the sculptures lately discovered at Barahāt, are to be found "representations of five separate Bodhi-trees of as many different Buddhas, which are distinctly labelled as follows:—

(1). *Bhagavato Vipasino Bodhi*, that is, the Tree of *Vipasyin* or *Vipaswi*, the first of the seven Buddhas.

(2). *Bhagavato Kakusadhasa Bodhi*.

(3). *Bhagavato Konagamana Bodhi*.

(4). *Bhagavato Kasapasa Bodhi*.

(5). *Bhagavato Sakamunino Bodhi*.

These last are the four well-known Buddhists named *Krakuchhanda*, *Konagamani*, *Kāsyapa*, and *Sākyamuni*." It is scarcely necessary for me to add, that I by no means concur in the early date attributed by General Cunningham to these sculptures.

² Rev. S. Beal, Travels of Fah-Hian, p. 82. *Foe koue ki*, cap. xx. Remusat's Note 35. Laidlay, pp. 168, 179. Spence Hardy, alluding to these sectaries, says, "they are called in general *Tīrthakars*."—Manual of Buddhism, p. 290.

³ "Grand roi, le jeune Sarvārthasiddha a au milieu de la chevelure un *Śrīvatsa*, un *Svastika*, un *Nandyāvarta* et un *Vardhamāna*. Grand roi, ce sont là les quatre-vingts marques secondaires du jeune Sarvārthasiddha." . . . Foucaux, p. 110. "Pendant qu'elle le préparait ces signes précurseurs apparurent: Au milieu de ce lait, un *Śrīvatsa*, un *Svastika*, un *Nandyāvarta*, un lotus, un *Vardhamāna* (Diagramme particulier dont la forme n'est pas indiquée), et d'autres signes de bénédiction se montrèrent."—Cap. viii. p. 258 (see also pp. 305, 390).

⁴ Colebrooke's Essays, vol. ii. p. 188. Asiatic Researches, vol. ix. p. 304. J.R.A.S. Vol. I. n.s. pp. 475-481. J.A.S. Bengal, vol. vii. p. 143. Burnouf, Lotus, pp. 624-645. Col. Low, Transactions R.A.S. Vol. III.

of the young Buddha are adverted to as, "qui est apparu par l'effet de la racine de la vertu des précédents Djinas."

The importance of these indications will be better appreciated, when it is understood that the twenty-four statues of the Jaina saints were all formed upon a single model, being indistinguishable, the one from the other, except by the *chinas* or subordinate marks on the pedestals, which constituted the discriminating *lakshanas* or *mudrās* of each individual Tīrthan-kara. These crypto-devices were, in other cases, exhibited as frontal marks, or delegated to convenient positions on the breast and other parts of the nude statue. In this sense, Jainism may be said to have been a religion of signs and symbols, comprehending many simple objects furnished by nature and further associated with enigmatical and *Tantric* devices, the import of which is a mystery to modern intelligence.¹

The following is a list of the twenty-four

JAINA TĪRTHANKARAS, WITH THEIR PARENTAGE AND DISCRIMINATING SYMBOLS.²

NAMES.	SYMBOLS.
1. Rīshabha, of the race of <i>Ikshwāku</i> , <i>Prathama Jina</i> , "the first Jina"	a Bull
2. Ajita, son of <i>Jitāśatru</i>	an Elephant
3. Sambhava, son of <i>Jitāri</i>	a Horse
4. Abhinandana, son of <i>Sambara</i>	an Ape
5. Sumati, son of <i>Megha</i>	a Curlew
6. Padmaprabha, son of <i>Śrīdhara</i>	a Lotus
7. Supārṣwa, son of <i>Pratishtha</i>	a <i>Swastika</i>
8. Chandraprabha, son of <i>Mahāsena</i>	the Moon
9. Pushpadanta, or Suvidhi, son of <i>Supriya</i>	an Alligator
10. Śitala, son of <i>Dṛidharatha</i>	a <i>Śrīvatsa</i>

¹ In modern times, Mr. Hodgson tells us, he was able to discriminate statues, which passed with the vulgar for any god their priests chose to name, by the crucial test of their "minute accompaniments" and "frontal appendages."—*J.R.A.S.* Vol. XVIII. p. 395. See, also, the Chinese-Buddhist inscription from Keu-Yung Kwan, with its *mudrās*, and Mr. Wylie's remarks upon *dhāranis*.—*J.R.A.S.* Vol. V. n.s. p. 22.

² Colebrooke's *Essays*, vol. ii. p. 187; *As. Res.* vol. ix. p. 305. Mr. Burgess, *Indian Antiquary*, 1873, vol. i. p. 134.

NAMES.	SYMBOLS.
11. Śreyán (or Śriyánsa), son of <i>Vishṇu</i> . . .	a Rhinoceros
12. Vásupújya, son of <i>Vasupújya</i>	a Buffalo
13. Vimala, son of <i>Kṛitavarman</i>	a Boar
14. Ananta (Anantajit), son of <i>Sinhasena</i> . . .	a Falcon
15. Dharma, son of <i>Bhānu</i>	a Thunderbolt
16. Śánti, son of <i>Viśvasena</i>	an Antelope
17. Kunthu, son of <i>Súra</i>	a Goat
18. Ara, son of <i>Sudaršana</i>	a <i>Nandiyāvarta</i>
19. Malli, son of <i>Kumbha</i>	a Jar
20. Munisuvrata (Suvrata), son of <i>Sumitra</i> . .	a Tortoise
21. Nimi, son of <i>Vijaya</i>	blue Water-lily
22. Nemi (or Arishṭanemi), s. of <i>Samudrajaya</i>	a Conch
23. Párṣwa (Párṣwanátha), son of <i>Aśvasena</i>	a hooded Snake
24. Vardhamána, also named <i>Vira</i> , <i>Mahá- vira</i> , etc., surnamed <i>Charama-tīrthakṛit</i> , or "last of the Jinas," "emphatically called <i>Śramaṇa</i> or the saint," son of <i>Siddhártha</i>	a Lion. ¹

In addition to these discriminating symbols, the different Tīrthankaras are distinguished by the tint of their complexions. No. 1 is described as of a yellow or golden complexion, which seems to have been the favourite colour,

¹ Dr. Stevenson has tabulated some further details of the Jaina symbolic devices in "Trisala's Dreams":

Elephant.	Bull.	Lion-Tiger.	Lakshmí.	A Garland.
Moon.	Sun.	Standard.	Jar.	Lotus Lake.
The Sea.	Heavenly Mansion.	Trisala.	Heap of Pearls.	Flameless Fire.

Lucky figures, ¹Srivatsa, ²Satvika, ³Throne, ⁴Flower-pot, ⁵couple of Fishes, ⁶Mirror, ⁷Nandiyāvarta, ⁸Vardhamána.—Kalpa Sutra, page i.

Dr. Stevenson has an instructive note upon Jaina emblems, which I append to his Table:—"In the prefixed scheme of the emblems of the different Tīrthankaras, it may strike the reader that there is no vestige of anything like this Buddhist Chaitya in any of them. This arises from one remarkable feature of dissimilarity between the Jains and Buddhists. The Dagoba, or Buddhist

Nos. 6 and 12 rejoice in a "red" complexion, Nos. 8 and 9 are designated as "fair," No. 19 is described as "blue," and No. 20 as "black." Párswanátha is likewise "blue," while Mahávira reverts to the typical "golden" hue, the सुवर्ण छवि *Suvarṇa chhavi*, "the golden form" claimed alike for Sákya Muni.¹

In illustration of this tendency to faith in emblems among the Jainas, I quote the independent opinion of Captain J. Low regarding the origin of the celebrated *Phrabát*, or ornamental impress of the feet of Buddha,² and his demonstration of the inconsistent and inappropriate assimilation of the worship of symbols with the higher pretensions of the creed of Sákya Muni:—

"As the Phrabát is an object claiming from the Indo-Chinese nations a degree of veneration scarcely yielding to that which they pay to Buddha himself, we are naturally led to inquire why the emblems it exhibits are not all adored individually as well as in the aggregate. It seems to be one of those inconsistencies which mark the character of Buddhist schismatics; and it may enable us more readily to reach the real source of their religion, from which so many superstitions have ramified to cross our path in eastern research. To whatever country or people we may choose to assign

Chaitya, was a place originally appropriated to the preservation of relics, a practice as abhorrent to the feelings of the Jainas as it is to those of the Brahmans. The word Chaitya, when used by the Jainas, means any image or temple dedicated to the memory of a Tirthankara."—*Kalpa Sutra*, p. xxvi.

From quasi-Buddhist sources we derive independent Symbols of the Four Divisions of the *Vaibhāshika* School.

FOUR CLASSES.	SUBDIVISIONS.	DISTINCTIVE MARKS.
Rahula..... <i>Sakya's.</i>	4 sects, using the Sanskrit tongue	<i>Utpala padma</i> (water-lily) jewel, and tree-leaf put together in the form of a nosegay.
Kásyapa	6 sects, entitled "the great community," using a corrupt dialect	Shell or conch.
Upali	3 sects, styled "the class which is honored by many," using the language of the <i>Pisá-chikas</i>	A <i>sortsika</i> flower.
Kátyáyana	3 sects, entitled "the class that have a fixed habitation," using the vulgar dialect....	The figure of a wheel.

Csoma de Körös, *J.A.S.B.* vol. vii. p. 143.

¹ Asiatic Researches, vol. xv. p. 84.

² Examples of Jaina-Buddhist *Foot-prints* may be seen in Vol. III. n.s. of our Journal, p. 159.

the original invention of the *Phrabát*, it exhibits too many undoubted Hindu symbols to admit of our fixing its fabrication upon the worshippers of the latter Buddha; of whose positive dogmas it is rather subversive than otherwise, by encouraging polytheism. And further, the intent with which it was originally framed—namely, to embody in one grand symbol a complete system of theology and theogony—should seem to have been gradually forgotten, or perverted by succeeding ages to the purposes of a ridiculous superstition.”—Capt. J. Low, “The Phrabát, or Divine Foot of Buddha from Bali and Siamese Books,” Transactions R.A.S. Vol. II. p. 64.¹

The existing traditions of the Jainas, on the other hand, consistently adhere to the reverence of nature’s forms or the more elaborated diagrams and curious devices of their ancient creed,² which is here shown to have been incompatible with the advanced tenets of Buddhism. The Vaishṇavás, equally in their turn, had their *Vishṇu-pad*; but when we meet with the symbolical impression of the feet under their adaptative treatment, we find it decorated and adorned with a totally different series of minor emblems to those affected by the early Jainas.³

Dr. Stevenson, in editing the text of the leading Jaina authority, the *Kalpa Sūtra*, in 1848,⁴ arrived *independently* at

¹ A pertinent inquiry is made by R. Friederich in the last Number of our Journal (Vol. IX. n.s. p. 65): “Were the Buddhists of Java *Jainas*?”

² Col. W. Frankliu, in his account of the Temple of Párswanátha at Samet-Sikhar, describes the statues as having the “head fashioned like a turbau, with seven expanded heads of serpents, *Coluber Naga*, or hooded snake, the invariable symbol of Párswanátha.” The summit of the hill, emphatically termed by the Jainas *Samet Sikhar*, comprises a table-land flanked by “twenty small Jaina temples. In them are to be found the *Vasu-Pádikas* or ‘sacred feet,’ similar to what are to be seen in the Jaina Temple at Chámpánagar. On the south side of the mountain is a very large and handsome flat-roofed temple, containing several figures of this deity, which exhibit the never-failing attributes of Párswanátha and the Jaina religion, viz. the crowned serpent and cross-legged figures of Jineṣwara or Jina, the ruler and guardian of mankind.”—Asiatic Researches, vol. ix. pp. 528, 530. “In their temples, the Swetámbaras have images of all these persons (the twenty-four Jinas), which they worship; but their devotions are more usually addressed to what are called representations of their feet.”—Dr. B. Hamilton, Mysore, p. 538.

³ General Cunningham has published a fac-simile of the Gaya *Vishṇu-pad*, which, however, he designates in the Plate, “Buddha-pad,” executed in A.D. 1308: in this, although many symbols of Indian origin and local currency are displayed, we miss the leading *Svastika*, and the other mystic diagrams more immediately associated with the Jaina and secondary Buddhist systems.—Arch. Rep., 1871, vol. i. p. 9, pl. vii.

⁴ The extant MS. text of the *Kalpa Sūtra* contains a record that “900 years after MAHÁVIRA, and in the 80th year of the currency of the *tenth* hundred,

a similar conclusion with Colebrooke as to the relative positions of Jainism and Buddhism, in reference to their common source and the more recent innovations and arrogant assumptions of the latter creed. He sums up his remarks in the subjoined passage :

“There are, however, yet one or two other points in the accounts the Jains give us, which seem to have a historic bearing. The first is the relation said to have subsisted between the last Buddha and the last Tīrthankara, the Jains making Mahāvīra Gautama’s preceptor, and him the favourite pupil of his master. . . . In favour of the Jain theory (of priority), however, it may be noticed, that Buddha is said to have seen 24 of his predecessors (Mahāvanso, I. c. i.), while in the present Kappo he had but four. The Jains, consistently with their theory, make Mahāvīra to have seen 23 of his predecessors, all that existed before him in the present age. This part of Buddhism evidently implies the knowledge of the 24 Tīrthankaras of the Jains. Gautama, however, by the force of natural genius, threw their system entirely into the shade, till the waning light of Buddhism permitted its fainter radiance to re-appear on the western horizon.”¹—Kalpa Sūtra, London, 1848, p. xii.

Dr. Stevenson was peculiarly competent to express an opinion on this and collateral questions, as he had made the “ante-Brahmanical worship of the Hindus”² a subject of his especial study, during his lengthened career, as a missionary in the Dekhan, in direct association with the people of the land. Among other matters bearing upon Jainism, he gives an instructive account of the process of making a god, as traced in the instance of VITṬAL or VITHOBA, commencing with the “rough unhewn stone of a pyramidal or triangular shape,”³ which formed the centre of the druidical

this Book was written and publicly read in the currency of the 93rd year.” Hence, taking Mahāvīra’s period at 503 B.C., its date is fixed at “454 A.D. and its publication at 466 A.D.”—Stevenson’s Kalpa Sutra, p. 95. Colebrooke’s Essays, vol. ii. p. 193.

¹ “After writing the above I found my conclusion anticipated by Mr. Colebrooke, and I am happy that it now goes abroad with the suffrage of so learned an Orientalist—Trans. R.A.S. Vol. I. p. 522.”

² J.R.A.S. Vol. V. pp. 189, 264; Vol. VI. p. 239; Vol. VIII. p. 330. See also J.A.S. Bengal, articles on cognate subjects, vol. iii. (1834), p. 495; vol. vi. p. 498.

³ J.R.A.S. (1839), Vol. V. p. 193 *et seq.* Among other questions adverted to, Dr. Stevenson remarks:—“Veṭṭal is generally, in the Dekhan, said to be an *Avatār* of

circle of similarly-shaped blocks—proceeding, in the second stage, to their adornment with red-ochre tipped with white, to imitate fire, the further development of the central block into “a human figure,” “with two arms,” and its coincident promotion to the shelter of a temple with more complicated rites and ceremonies; and, finally, in other cases, to the transformation of “the form of a man, but without arms or legs,” into “a fierce and gigantic man, perfect in all his parts.”¹

Dr. Stevenson, in a subsequent article,² followed up his comparison of the later images of *Vithoba*³ with the normal ideals of the Jaina *nude* statues. One of his grounds for these identifications is stated in the following terms: “The want of suitable costume in the images (of Vithoba and Rakhami), as originally carved, in this agreeing exactly with the images the Jainas at present worship, and disagreeing with all others adored by the Hindus”—who, “with all their faults, had always sense of propriety enough to carve their images so as to represent the gods to the eye arrayed in a way not to give offence to modesty.”

The author then goes on to relate how the Brahmanists of

Śiva, and wonderful exploits performed by him are related in a book called the *Veṭṭal Pachisi*; but which composition has not had the good fortune to gain the voice of the Brahmins and be placed among the *Māhātmyas*. On the contrary, they look upon it merely as a parcel of fables, and dispute the claims of *Veṭṭal* to any divine honours whatever.”—Dr. Stevenson, *J.R.A.S.* Vol. V. p. 192.

¹ Dr. John Wilson, *J.R.A.S.* Vol. V. p. 197. “The temple of *Veṭāl* at *Arāwālī*, near *Sāwant Wādī*.”

² *J.R.A.S.* Vol. VII. p. 5.

³ The legend of the creation of *Jagganātha*, accepted by his votaries, points to an equally simple origin, which, in this instance, took the form of a drift log of *Nim*-wood. This *ḍāra* or “branch” having been pronounced on examination to be adorned with the emblems of the *Sanka*, *Gadā*, *Padma* and *Chakra*, was afterwards, by divine intervention, split “into the four-fold image of *Chatur Mūrti*. A little colouring was necessary to complete them, and they then became recognized as *Śrī Krishna* or *Jagannāth*, distinguished by its black hue, *Bāldeo*, a form of *Śiva*, of a white colour, *Subhadrá*, the sister, . . . of the colour of saffron.”

In this case the Brahmins seem to have surpassed themselves in their theatrical adaptations, for they are said to have adopted a practice of dressing-up the figure of *Śrī Jīu*, in a costume appropriate to the occasion, to represent the principal deities of the ruling creeds. “Thus at the *Rām Navamī*, the great image assumes the dress and character of *Rāma*; at the *Janam Ashtamī*, that of *Krishna*; at the *Kālī Pūjā*, that of *Kālī*,” with two other alternative green-room transformations, which we need not reproduce.—*Stirling’s Orissa, Asiatic Researches*, vol. xv. p. 318.

later days appropriated the sacred sites and adapted the very images of the local gods to their own purposes. His description is most graphic of the way in which the *nude* statues of Vithoba and *Rakhmi*, at *Pandarpūr*, were clothed in appropriate Hindu garments and made to do duty for the Brahmanical *Krishna* and *Rukmini*. Not less caustic is the completion of the tale in the account of the "image-dresser's" appearance over night at feasts, in the borrowed habiliments of his patron god, to be restored for the benefit of the admiring multitude on the following morning.¹

Among other suggestive inquiries, Dr. Stevenson has instituted a comparison between the equality of all men before their god—indicative of *pre-caste* periods—at the several shrines of Vithoba and Jaggannátha,² and the inferential claims of the Jainas to the origination of the ever-popular pilgrimage to the latter sanctuary. Incidentally, it may be mentioned that the title of "Jaggannátha is an appellation given by the modern Jainas to their *Tīrthankara* Párswanátha in particular."³ General Cunningham, in his work on the Bhilsa Topes,⁴ long ago pointed out the absolute identity of the outline of the modern figures of Jaggannátha with the *trisúl* or curved-trident ornament so frequent in the early Buddhist sculptures,⁵ and, in like manner, Burnouf had detected the coincidence of the form of the *Vardhamánakya*, or mystic symbol of Mahávira above adverted to, with the outline of the Bactro-Greek Monogram so common on the

¹ No less acute is Dr. Stevenson's analysis, in another volume of our Journal (Vol. VIII. p. 336), of the position traditionally held by Śiva in India—his absence "from the original Brahmanical theogony," his imperfect assimilation with the later forms of their ritual—and the conclusion "that the worship of Śiva is nothing more than a superstition of the aboriginal Indians, modified by the Brahmans, and adopted into their system," for their own ends. An opinion which has been fully confirmed by later investigations.

² Journal R.A.S. Vol. VII. p. 7, and Vol. VIII. p. 331. See also Col. Sykes, Vol. VI. p. 420, note 3.

³ Journ. A.S., p. 423.


⁴ "The triple emblem, represented in fig. 22, pl. xxxii., is one of the most valuable of the Sanchi sculptures, as it shows in the clearest and most unequivocal manner the absolute identity of the holy Brahmanical Jaggannáth with the ancient Buddhist triad."—Bhilsa Topes (London, 1854), p. 358. Fac-similes of these figures may be seen at p. 450, Journ. R.A.S., Vol. VI. o.s. See also Laidlay's translation of *Fo-lwe-ki*, pp. 21-26, 261.

⁵ The symbol forms a distinct object of worship at Amravati.—Fergusson's "Tree and Serpent Worship," pl. lxx. etc.

local coins.¹ This last identification opens out a very wide field of speculation, inasmuch as this particular mark has now been found in all its integrity, on the person of a Jaina statue in the Indian Museum. Another coincidence which may prove to have some bearing upon the relative claims of Jainas and Buddhists to the Lion pillars,² and the frequent representations of that animal upon the sculptures on the Topes, etc., is that the Lion proves to have been a special emblem of *Mahāvira*, as the mystic trident in its turn answered to his second title of *Vardhamāna*.

Before taking leave of the question of the relations once existing between *Mahāvira* and Buddha, it remains for me to cite a most curious passage, furnishing a vivid outline of the intercourse between *Guru* and *Chela*, and foreshadowing the nascent doubts of the *disciple*—which occurs in the *Bhagavatī*,³ a work recently published by Prof. Weber, of the existence of which neither Colebrooke nor Wilson were cognizant. I may add in further support of the identity of *Gautama* and *Śakya Muni*—so freely admitted

¹ Burnouf, in noticing the 65 names of the figures traced on the supposed *Dharma pradīpikā* or imprint of the foot of Buddha in Ceylon, remarks under the sixth or *Vardhamānakya* head: "C'est là encore une sorte de diagramme mystique également familier aux Brâhmanes et au Buddhistes; son nom signifie "le prospère."

"Quant à la figure suivante, on trouvera peut-être qu'elle doit être le Vardhamāna; je remarquerai seulement sur la seconde, , qu'elle est ancienne, et on la remarque fréquemment au revers des médailles de Kadphises et de quelques autres médailles indo-scythiques au type du roi cavalier et vainqueur (A.A. pl. x. 5, 9a), et sur le troisième, qu'elle paraît n'être qu'une variante de la seconde."—Lotus, p. 627. "Waddhamānañ kumārikañ." Mahāvanso, I. c. xi. p. 70. Col. Sykes, J.R.A.S. VI. o.s. p. 456, No. 34, etc.

² The Kuhaon pillar is manifestly Jaina, though there is this to be said, that it is more fully wrought than the ordinary round mouliths, some of which Aṣoka may have found ready to his hand. It bears the inscription of Skanda Gupta (219 A.D.), but this need no more detract from its true age than the modern inscription of Visala deva of A.D. 1164 would disturb the prior record of Aṣoka on the Dehli (Khizrâbâd) lât. "The bell (of the capital) itself is reeded, after the fashion of the Aṣoka pillars. Above this the capital is square, with a small niche on each side holding a naked standing figure, surmounted by a low circular band, in which is fixed the metal spike already described, as supporting a statue of a lion, or some other animal rampant. . . . On the western face of the square base there is a niche holding a naked standing figure, with very long arms reaching to his knees. Behind, there is a large snake folded in horizontal coils, one above the other, and with its seven heads forming a canopy over the idol."—General Cunningham, Arch. Rep. i. p. 93.

³ Fragment der Bhagavatī. Ein Beitrag zur Kenntniss der heiligen litteratur und sprache der Jaina. Von A. Weber, Berlin, 1867, p. 315. The author, a Jaina writer named *Malayagiri*, flourished in the thirteenth century A.D.

in previous quotations¹—that the Iranian texts equally designate him by the former epithet.² And it is to be remembered that Buddhism very early made its way in force over parts of Bactria—as the construction of the *Nau Bihār* at Balkh, lately identified by Sir H. Rawlinson,³ suffices to prove. An edifice which Hiouen Thsang commemorates as “qui a été construit par le premier roi de ce royaume.”⁴

“At that time, then, at that juncture, the holy Mahāvira’s eldest pupil, Indrabhūti,—houseless, of Gautama’s Gotra, seven (cubits) high, of even and regular proportions, with joints as of diamond, bull and arrow, fair like the streak on a touchstone or like lotus pollen, of mighty, shining, burning, powerful penance, pre-eminent, mighty, of mighty qualities, a mighty ascetic, of mighty abstinence, of dried-up body, of compact mighty resplendency, possessed of the fourteen preliminary steps, endowed with the four kinds of knowledge, acquainted with all the ways of joining syllables, in moderate proximity to the holy Çramaṇa Mahāvira, with knees erect and lowered head, endowed with a treasury of meditation,—lived edifying himself by asceticism and the bridling of his senses.

“Thereupon that holy Gautama, in whom faith, doubt, and curiosity arose, grew and increased, rose up. Having arisen he went to the place where the sacred Çramaṇa Mahāvira was. After going there, he honours him by three pradakṣiṇa circumambulations. After performing these, he praises him and bows to him. After so doing, not too close, not too distant, listening to him, bowing to him, with his face towards him, humbly waiting on him with folded hands, he thus spoke.”

I have already adverted to Fah-Hian’s mention of a sect, in India, who declined to accept Śākya Muni as their

¹ This has not, however, always been conceded. Prof. Wilson, in his remarks upon “Two Tracts from Nipāl,” says Dr. Buchanan “has only specified two names, Gautama and Śākya, of which the first does not occur in the Nipāl list, whilst, in another place, he observes that Śākya is considered by the Burmese Buddhists as an impostor. . . The omission of the name of Gautama proves that he is not acknowledged as a distinct Buddha by the Nipālese, and he can be identified with no other in the list than Śākya Sinha.”—*Essays*, vol. ii. p. 9. At p. 10 Prof. Wilson contests Buchanan’s assertion, and adds that in the Pali version of the *Amara Kosha* GAUTAMA and ŚĀKYA SINHA and ADITYABANDHU are given as synonyms of the son of ŚUDDHODANA.”

² Fravardin Yasht (*circa* “350–450 B.C.”), quoted by Dr. Haug, *Essay on the Sacred Language of the Parsees*, Bombay, 1862, p. 188.

³ *Quarterly Review*, 1866, and his “Central Asia,” Murray, 1875, p. 246.

⁴ *Mémoires*, vol. i. p. 30. “*Nava saṅghārāma*.” See also *Voyages*, p. 65.

prophet, but who avowedly confessed their faith in one or more of his predecessors.

Some very instructive passages in this direction have been collected by the Rev. S. Beal, in his revised edition of the *Travels of Fah-Hian*.¹ Among the rest, referring to the Chinese aspects of Buddhism, shortly after A.D. 458, he goes on to say :

“The rapid progress of Buddhism excited much opposition from the Literati and followers of Lao-tseu. The latter affirmed that Sakya Buddha was but an incarnation of their own master, who had died 517 B.C., shortly after which date (it was said) Buddha was born. This slander was resented by the Buddhists, and they put back the date of their founder’s birth in consequence—first, to 687 B.C., and afterwards to still earlier periods.”—p. xxvi.

A coincident assertion of priority of evolution seems to have been claimed, *in situ*, at the period of the visit to India of the second representative Chinese pilgrim, *Hïouen Thsang* (A.D. 629-645).

His references to the Jainas, their practices, and their supposed appropriation of the leading theory, and consequent modification of portions of the Buddhist creed, are set forth, at length, in the following quotation :—

In describing the town of *Siñhapûra*, Hïouen Thsang proceeds : “A côté et à une petite distance du *Stoupa*, on voit l’endroit où le fondateur de la secte hérétique qui porte des vêtements blancs (*Çvétavâsa* ?), comprit les principes sublimes qu’il cherchait, et commença à expliquer la loi. Aujourd’hui, on y voit une inscription. A côté de cet endroit, on a construit un temple des dieux. Les sectaires qui le fréquentent se livrent à des dures austérités. . . La loi qu’a exposée le fondateur de cctte secte, a été pillée en grande partie dans les livres du *Bouddha*, sur lesquels il s’est guidé pour établir ses préceptes et ses règles. . . Dans leurs observances et leurs exercices religieux, ils suivent presque entièrement la règle des *Çramaņas*, seulement, ils conservent un peu de cheveux sur leur tête, et, de plus, ils vont nus. Si par hazard, ils portent des vêtements, ils se distinguent par la couleur blanche. Voila les différences, d’ailleurs fort légères, qui les séparent des autres. La statue de leur maître divin ressemble, par une sorte d’usurpation, à celle

¹ London, Trübner, 1869.

de *Jou-lai* (du Tathâgata); elle n'en diffère que par le costume; ses signes de beauté (mahâpouroucha lakchanâni) sont absolument les mêmes."¹—Mémoires sur les contrées occidentales, Paris, 1857, vol. i. p. 163.

In this conflict of periods, the pretensions of the Northern Buddhists may be reduced, by the internal testimony of their own books, to severely approximate proportions; and here Mr. Brian Hodgson's preliminary researches present themselves, with an authority hitherto denied them; perchance, because they were so definitively in advance of the ordinary knowledge of Buddhism, as derived from extra-national sources. In this case Mr. Hodgson was able to appeal to data, contributed from the very *nidus* of Buddhism in Magadhâ—whose passage, into the ready refuge of the Valley of Nipâl, would *prima facie* have secured an unadulterated version of the ancient formulæ, and have supplied a crucial test for the comparison of the southern developments, as contrasted with the northern expansions and assimilations of the Faith. Mr. Hodgson observes:—

“I can trace something *very like* Buddhism into far ages and realms: but I am sure that *that* Buddhism which has come down to us, in the Sanskrit, Pâli, and Tibetan books of the sect, and which only we do or can *know*, is neither old nor exotic.”—J.A.S.B. 1837, p. 685.²

¹ One of Hiouen Thsang's contributions to the place and position of the Jains in reference to the Buddhists *proper*, upon whom he has been supposed exclusively to rely, is exhibited in his faith in a native magician of the former creed, the truth of whose predictions he frankly acknowledges in the following terms:—“Avant l'arrivée du messager du roi *Kûmâra*, il y eut un hérétique nu (*Ni-kien-Nirgrantha*), nommé *Fa-che-lo* (*Vadjra*), qui entra tout à coup dans sa chambre. Le Maître de la loi, qui avait entendu dire, depuis longtemps, que les *Ni-kien* excellaient à tirer l'horoscope, le pria aussitôt de s'asseoir et l'interrogea ainsi, afin d'éclaircir ses doutes: ‘Moi *Hiouen-Thsang*, religieux du royaume de *Tehi-na*, je suis venu dans ce pays, il y a bien des années, pour me livrer à l'étude et à de pieuses recherches. Maintenant, je désire m'en retourner dans ma patrie; j'ignore si j'y parviendrai ou non.’” He then goes on to relate: “Le *Ni-kien* prit un morceau de craie, traça des lignes sur la terre, tira les sorts et lui répondit en ces termes.”—Hiouen-Thsang, vol. i. (*Voyages*), p. 228. See also vol. i. p. 224; and (*Memoires*) vol. i. (ii.), pp. 42, 93, 354; vol. ii. (iii.), p. 406.

² In the same sense, another distinguished writer on Buddhism remarks: “There is no life of Gotama Buddha, by any native author, yet discovered, that is free from the extravagant pretensions with which his history has been so largely invested; from which we may infer that the records now in existence were all prepared long after his appearance in the world.”—Spence Hardy, J.R.A.S. Vol. XX. p. 135.

Col. Tod's observations were not designed to extend to the question of the relative age of the Jaina and Buddhist creeds, but they serve to show the permanence and immutability of the former faith in a portion of the continent of India, where the people, beyond all other sectional nationalities, have preserved their individuality and reverence for local traditions. They explain, moreover, how the leading tenet of Jainism—which was shared in a subdued form by Buddhism¹—came under its exaggerated aspect to leave their best kings at the mercy of less humane adversaries.²

Col. Tod proceeds to speak of the Jainas in the following terms:—

“The Vedīarān (the man of secrets or knowledge, magician), or Magi of Rājasthān. The numbers and power of these sectarians are little known to Europeans, who take it for granted they

¹ “The practical part of the Jain religion consists in the performance of five duties and the avoidance of five sins.

“The duties are—1. Mercy to all animated beings; 2. Almsgiving; 3. Venerating the sages while living, and worshipping their images when deceased; 4. Confession of faults; 5. Religions fasting.

“The sins are—1. Killing; 2. Lying; 3. Stealing; 4. Adultery; 5. Worldly-mindedness.”—Kalpa Sūtra, p. xxii.

The Jainas “believe that not to kill any sentient being is the greatest virtue.”—The Chintāmani, ed. Rev. H. Bower, Madras, 1868, p. xxi.

The leading contrast between the simple duties of the Jainas and the later developments introduced by the various schools of Buddhists may be traced in the following extracts:

“1. From the meanest insect up to man, thou shalt kill no animal whatever; 2. Thou shalt not steal; 3. Thou shalt not violate the wife or concubine of another.”—Gützlaff, “China Opened,” London, 1838, p. 216.

“There are three sins of the body: 1. The taking of life, Murder (1); 2. The taking that which is not given, Theft (2); 3. The holding of carnal intercourse with the female that belongs to another, Adultery (3).”—Spence Hardy, *Mannal of Buddhism*, p. 461.

“The ten obligations” commence with “1. Not to kill; 2. Not to steal; 3. Not to marry; 4. Not to lie, etc.”—The Rev. S. Beal, *Fah-hian*, p. 59. Mr. Beal goes on to expound the four principles involved in the existence of Buddhism, which are defined as these:—“1. That man may become superior to the Gods; 2. That *Nirvāna* is the Supreme good; 3. That religion consists in a right preparation of heart (suppression of evil desire, practice of self-denial, active benevolence); 4. That men of all castes, and women, may enjoy the benefits of a religious life.”—p. i.

² “To this leading feature in their religion (the prohibition of the shedding of blood) they owe their political debasement: for Komarpal, the last King of Anulwara, of the Jain faith, would not march his armies in the rains, from the unavoidable sacrifice of animal life that must have ensued. The strict Jain does not even maintain a lamp during that season, lest it should attract moths to their destruction.”—i. p. 519. The oil-mill and the potter's wheel are stopped for four months in the year, when insects most abound.”—i. p. 521. At p. 520 Col. Tod enlarges upon the mines of knowledge (of the Jaina) books by the thousand, etc.

are few and dispersed. To prove the extent of their religious and political power, it will suffice to remark, that the pontiff of the *Khartra-gatcha* (true branch), one of the many branches of this faith, has 11,000 clerical disciples scattered over India; that a single community, the Ossi or Oswal (Ossa in Marwar), numbers 100,000 families; and that more than half the mercantile wealth of India passes through the hands of the Jain laity."—Tod, under Mewar, vol. i. p. 518.

Col. Tod's contemporary, and superior officer, Gen. Malcolm, gives us an equally striking insight into the active aggressiveness of the Brahmans and the helpless submissiveness of the Jainas in his current narrative:—

"Six years ago, the Jainas built a handsome temple at Ujjain; a *Juttee*, or priest of high character, arrived from Guzerát to consecrate it, and to place within the shrine the image of their favourite deity (Parswanáth); but on the morning of the day fixed for this purpose, after the ceremony had commenced and the Jainas had filled the temple expecting the arrival of their idol, a Brahman appeared conveying an oval stone from the river Seepra, which he proclaimed as the emblem of Mahádeva, (and his following) soon drove the unarmed bankers and shopkeepers from their temple, and proclaimed 'Mahádeva as the overthrower of Jainas.'"—Malcolm, Central India, vol. ii. p. 160. See also Edward Conolly, in J.A.S.B., 1837, p. 834.

In addition to the personal experiences and graphic narratives of Col. Tod, as detailed in his "*Rájasthán*," a new class of testimony, from indigenous sources, has lately reached us, in the contributions of an independent visitor to the courts of the Chiefs of the Rájput states, whose careful examination and reproduction of the monuments existing *in situ* has been associated with the acquisition of an amount of ancient lore, as preserved among the people themselves, which has not always been accessible under the necessarily reserved attitude of English officials.

I cite M. Rousselet's own words regarding the nature of the documents in the possession of the Jainas, and the reiterated charges they advance against the heretical Buddhists:

"Les livres religieux des Jaïnas, dont la traduction jetterait un grand jour sur les âges reculés de l'histoire de l'Inde, ont été dé-

laissés jusqu'à présent par nos savants orientalistes. Si l'on en croit les traditions conservées par les prêtres de cette secte, l'origine du jainisme remonterait à des centaines de siècles avant Jésus-Christ ; il paraît, en tout cas, établi qu'il existait bien avant l'apparition de Çakya Mouni, et il est même possible que les doctrines de ce dernier ne soient qu'une transformation des doctrines jaïnas. Les Bouddhistes reconnaissent du reste Mahavira, le dernier Tirthankar jaïna, comme le précepteur de Çakya. Les Jaïnas considèrent, de leur côté, les Bouddhistes comme des hérétiques, et les ont poursuivis de tout temps de leur haine."—p. 373.

We could scarcely have expected any contributory evidence towards the antiquity of the Jaina creed from Brahmanical sources, and, yet, an undesigned item of testimony to that end is found to be embalmed in the "Padma Purāṇa," where, in adverting to the deeds of *Vrihaspati* and his antagonism to *Indra*, Jainism is freely admitted to a contemporaneous existence with the great *Gods* of the Brahmans, and though duly designated as "heretic," is confessed, in the terms of the text, to have been a potent competitor for royal and other converts, in very early times.¹ I am by no means desirous of claiming either high antiquity or undue authority for the *Hindu Purāṇas*, but their minor admissions are at times instructive, and this may chance to prove so.²

¹ "The *Asuras* are described as enjoying the ascendancy over the *Devas*, when *Vrihaspati*, taking advantage of their leader *Sukra's* being enamoured of a nymph of heaven, sent by *Indra* to interrupt his penance, comes among the former as *Sukra*, and misleads them into irreligion by preaching heretical doctrines; the doctrines and practices he teaches are Jain, and in a preceding passage it is said that the sons of *Raji* embraced the *Jina Dharma*."—*Padma Purāna*, Wilson, J.R.A.S. Vol. V. p. 282. See also pp. 287, 310–11.

² Professor Wilson, arguing upon the supposed priority of the Buddhists, attempted to account for the frequent allusions to the Jainas in the Brahmanical writings by concluding that "since the *Bauddhas* disappeared from India, and the *Jainas* only have been known, it will be found that the Hindu writers, whenever they speak of *Bauddhas*, show, by the phraseology and practices ascribed to them, that they really mean *Jainas*. The older writers do not make the same mistake, and the usages and expressions they give to *Bauddha* personages are not *Jaina*, but *Bauddha*."—*Essays*, vol. i. p. 329.

It is to be added, however, that Prof. Wilson, when he put this opinion on record in 1832, had to rely upon the limited knowledge of the day, which presupposed that the Jainas had nothing definite to show prior to the ninth century (p. 333). He was not then aware of the very early indications of their nobtrusive power in Southern India in Śaka 411 (A.D. 489), if not earlier, as proved by Sir W. Elliot's Inscriptions (J.R.A.S. 1837, Vol. IV. pp. 8, 9, 10, 17, 19); and still less could he have foreseen the new revelations from Mathurá, which, of course, would have materially modified his conclusions.

The *Pancha Tantra*—the Indian original of Æsop's Fables—which has preserved *intact* so many of the ancient traditions of the land—also retains among the network of its ordinary homespun tales and local stories, a very significant admission of the position once held by the Jaina sect amid the social relations of the people. The fable, in question, appears in the authorized Sanskrit text, which, under some circumstances, might have caught the eye of Brahmanical revisors; nevertheless we find in its context “the chief of the (*Jaina*) convent” expressing himself, “How now, son; what is it you say? Are we Brahmans, think you, to be at any one's beck and call? No, no; at the hour we go forth to gather alms, we enter the mansions of those votaries only who, we know, are of approved faith.”¹

That Chandra Gupta was a member of the Jaina community is taken by their writers as a matter of course, and treated as a known fact, which needed neither argument nor demonstration.² The documentary evidence to this effect is

¹ This is Prof. Wilson's *own* rendering of the text. As we have seen, his leading tendencies were altogether against the notion of the antiquity or ante-Buddhical development of the Jaina creed (Essays, vol. iii. p. 227); and yet he was forced on many occasions, like the present, to admit that the *terms* were Buddhist, but the *tenor* was Jaina. In a note on the *Pancha Tantra* (p. 20, vol. ii.) he remarks, “From subsequent passages, however, it appears that the usual confusion of Bauddha and Jaina occurs in the *Pancha Tantra*; and that the latter alone is intended, whichever be named.” And with regard to the quotation given above he goes on to say: “The chief peculiarity, however, of this story is its correct delineation of Jain customs; a thing very unusual in Brāhmanical books. The address of the barber, and the benediction of the Superior of the *Vihāra*, are conformable to Jain usages. The whole is indeed a faithful picture. . . . The accuracy of the description is an argument for some antiquity; as the more modern any work is, the more incorrect the description of the Jainas and Bauddhas, and the confounding of one with the other.”—1840, vol. ii. p. 76.

² Book No. 20. Countermark 774, Mackenzie MSS., J.A.S. Bengal, vol. vii. p. 411.

“Section 8. Chronological tables of Hindu rājas (termed Jaina kings of the Dravida country in the table of contents of book No. 20).

“In the 4th age a mixture of names, one or two of them being Jaina; Chandra Gupta is termed a Jaina. Chola rājas. Himasila a Jaina king.”

The reporter, the Rev. William Taylor, adds the *remark*, “These lists, though imperfect, may have some use for occasional reference.”

“The extinction of the *Brahman* and *Kshatriya* classes was predicted by BHADRA-BAHU MUNI, in his interpretation of the 14 dreams of CHANDRA GUPTA, whom they, the Srāwak Yatīs, make out in the *Buddha-vilāsa*, a *Digambar* work, to have been the monarch of Ujjayani.”—Trans. R.A.S. Vol. I. p. 413.

“And Chandra Gupta, the king of Pataliputra, on the night of the full moon

of comparatively early date, and, apparently, absolved from all suspicion, by the omission from their lists of the name of Aṣoka, a far more powerful monarch than his grandfather, and one whom they would reasonably have claimed as a potent upholder of their faith, had he not become a pervert.

The testimony of Megasthenes would likewise seem to imply that Chandra Gupta submitted to the devotional teaching of the *sermánas*, as opposed to the doctrines of the Brahmans. The passage in Strabo runs as follows:—*Τοῖς δὲ βασιλεῦσι συνεῖναι δι' ἀγγέλων πυνθανομένοις περὶ τῶν αἰτίων, καὶ δι' ἐκείνων θεραπεύουσι, καὶ λιτανεύουσι τὸ θεῖον.*—Strabo, xv. i. 60.

We must now turn to the authoritative account of the succession of the Mauryas, as presented by the Brahmanical texts, which had so many chances of revision, both in time and substance, in their antagonism to all ancient creeds, and less-freely elaborated delusions, than their own more modern system professed to teach the Indian world.

The most approved of their Puránas, under the chronological and genealogical aspects—the *Vishṇu Purána*—introduces the succession of the Mauryas in the following terms:

“Upon the cessation of the race of Nanda, the Mauryas will possess the earth; for Kauṭilya will place Chandragupta on the throne. His son will be Bindusára; his son will be Aṣokavardhana; his son will be Suyáṣas; his son will be Daṣaratha; his son will be Sangata; his son will be Śálišúka; his son will be Somaṣarmaṇ;

in the month of Kártika, had 16 dreams. . . .”—Mr. Lewis Rice, *Indian Antiquary*, 1874, p. 155.

Mr. Rice adds the “Chronology of the Rájávali Kathe,” as given by Deva Chandrá, to the following effect: “After the death of Vira Varddhamána Gautama and other Kevalis, 62 years. Then Nandi Mitra and other Śruta Kevalis, 100 years. Then Viṣákha and other Daṣa purvis, 183. Then Nakshatra and other Ekadaśangadhara, 233. Then was born Vikramáditya in Ujjayini; . . . and he established his own era from the year of Rúdirodgári, the 605th year after the death of Varddhamána.”

“Interpretation of the 16 dreams of Chandra Gupta.

“1. All knowledge will be darkened.

“2. The Jaina religion will decline, and your successors to the throne take *díkshé*.

“3. The heavenly beings will not henceforth visit the Bharata *Kshetra*.

“4. The Jainas will be split into sects.

“5. The clouds will not give seasonable rain, and the crops will be poor.

“6. True knowledge being lost, a few sparks will glimmer with a feeble light.

“7. Áryakhaṇḍa will be destitute of Jaina doctrine.

“8. The evil will prevail and goodness be hidden. . . .

“16. Twelve years of dearth and famine will come upon this land.’

his son will be Śatadhanwan; and his successor will be Bṛihadratha. These are the ten Mauryas, who will reign over the earth for 137 years."—Vishṇu Purāna, book iv. cap. xxiv.

The full list of the Kings of Magadhá, obtained from these sources, runs as follows :

- | | |
|--------------------------------|---|
| i. PRADYOTANA. | xv. MAHÁNANDIN. ² |
| ii. PĀLAKA. | xvi. NANDA, <i>Mahápadma</i> . ³ |
| iii. VIŚĀKHAYÚPA. | xvii. SUMĀLYA & 7 BROTHERS
("the Brahman Kauṭilya will
root out the 9 Nandas"). |
| iv. JANAKA. | xviii. CHANDRA GUPTA. |
| v. NANDIVARDHANA. ¹ | xix. BINDUSARA. |
| vi. ŚIṢUNĀGA. | xx. AŚOKAVARDHANA. |
| vii. KĀKAVARṆA. | xxi. SUYASA. |
| viii. KSHEMADHARMAN. | xxii. DAŚARATHA. |
| ix. KSHATTRAUJAS. | xxiii. SAṄGATA. |
| x. VIDMIŚĀRA (BIMBIŚĀRA). | xxiv. ŚĀLIŚÚKA. |
| xi. AJĀTAŚATRU. | xxv. ŚOMASARMAN. |
| xii. DARBHAKA. | xxvi. ŚATADHANWAN. |
| xiii. UDAYAŚWA. | xxvii. BṚIHADRATHA. |
| xiv. NANDIVARDHANA. | |

The inquiry might here be reasonably raised, as to how a *Brahman*, like *Kauṭilya*, came to select, for sovereignty, a man of a supposedly adverse faith. But though our King-maker was a *Brahman*, he was not necessarily, in the modern acceptation of the term, a "*Bráhmanist*." The fact of the *Brahmanas* being bracketed in equal gradation with the *Sramanas* of the Jainas and Buddhists, in the formal versions of Aśoka's edicts, clearly demonstrates that the first-named class had not, as yet, succeeded to the exclusive charge of kings' consciences, or attained the leading place in the hierarchy of the land which they subsequently claimed. Moreover, in the full development of their power, the Brahmanas, as a rule, recognized their proper *métier* of guiding and governing from within the palace, and but seldom sought to become ostensibly reigning kings. Thus, supposing *Kauṭilya* to have been, as is affirmed in some passages, an hereditary minister,⁴ he might well have sought to secure a submissive

¹ "5 Pradyota kings, 138 years."

² "10 Śaiṣunāga kings, 362 years."

³ "He will be the annihilator of the Kshatrya race; for, after him, the kings of the earth will be *Śūdras*."

⁴ Hindu Theatre, p. 145. "Vishṇu Gupta," son of Chanaka (hence Chánakya). He is described in the *Vṛihat-Kathá* as a "Bráhman of mean appearance, digging in a meadow."—H. T. p. 140, and Wilson's Works, vol. iii. p. 177; see also vol. iii. p. 354, and the Mahawanso, p. 21, with the full list of references, pp. lxxvi, *et seq.*

prince, without regard to his crude ideas of faith, and one unlikely to trench upon the growing pretensions of the Bráhmancial class. But, among other things, it is to be kept in view that, hitherto, there had been no overt antagonism of creeds, regarding which, as will be seen hereafter, Aśoka so wisely counsels sufferance and consideration.

The leading question of caste, also, has a very important, though seemingly indirect, bearing upon the subject under discussion. It is clear that the whole theory of Indian *castes* originated in a simple natural division of labour associated with heredity of occupations, constituting, as civilization advanced, *ipso facto*, a system of social class discrimination; each section of the community having its defined rights and being subject to its corresponding responsibilities.¹ In the initiatory stage this simple distribution of duties clearly had no concern with creeds or forms of religious belief.

But beyond this, we have already seen (p. 157) that it was not incompatible with their obligations to their own faith, that Brahmans should officiate in Jaina temples—and, as almost a case in point, we find very early instances of Jaina Kings entertaining Brahman *Purohits*,² but it need not for a moment be supposed that these “spiritual guides” taught their sovereigns either the Vedic or Brahmanical system of religion.³

The conception of caste itself was obviously indigenous, and clearly an institution of home growth, which flourished and

¹ In the South and Central India the term *caste* seems still to represent *class*. “The Hindus, as in all parts of India, are divided into four great castes; but it will be preferable to speak of the inhabitants of this country as nations and classes; for it is in this manner they divide themselves and keep alive those attachments and prejudices which distinguish them from each other.—Malcolm’s “Central India,” vol. ii. p. 114.

² “While Padmapara was reigning in the city of Kotikapura. . . His Queen being Padmaśrī, and his *purohita* Soma Somarsi, a Bráhman.”—Rajavali Kathe, Ind. Antiquary, 1874, p. 154.

³ Govinda Ráya makes a grant of land to a “Jaina Brahman.”—Journal Royal Asiatic Society, Vol. VIII. p. 2; see also Colonel Sykes, J.R.A.S., Vol. VI. pp. 301, 305, and F. Buchanan, Mysore, vol. iii. p. 77.

It has elsewhere been remarked by other commentators:—“We see from the history of the Buddhist patriarchs, that the distinction of castes in no way interfered with the selection of the chiefs of religion. Sákya Muni was a Kshatrya; Maha Kasyapa, his successor, was a Bráhman; *Shang na ho sieou*, the third patriarch, was a Vaisya; and his successor, *Yeou pho Khieouto*, was a Sudra.”—Remusat, note, cap xx. *Foe koi ki*, Laidlay’s Translation, p. 178.

“Saugata books treating on the subject of caste never call in question the antique fact of a fourfold division of the Hindu people, but only give a more

engrafted itself more deeply as the nation progressed in its own independent self-development. In this sense we need not seek to discover any reference to its machinery in the authentic texts of the Vedas.¹ The Aryan pastoral races, who reached India from distant geographical centres, however intellectually endowed, were, in their very tribal communities and migratory habits, unfitted and unprepared for such matured social conditions.

The intrusion of a foreign race, in considerable numbers, would tend to fix the local distribution, and add a new division of its own to those already existing among people of the land. It might be suggested that the Vedic Aryans thus constituted, in their new home, the *fifth* of the "five classes of men" to whom they so frequently refer in the text of the *Rig Veda*.²

But there are decided objections to any such conclusion, as in one instance the five classes are distinctly alluded to as within the Aryan pale, in opposition to the local *Dasyus*.³

liberal interpretation to it than the current Bráhmanical one of their day."—B. H. Hodgson, J.R.A.S. Vol. II. p. 289.

And to conclude these references, I may point to the fact that Sákya Muni, in one instance, is represented as having promised a "young *Bráhman* that he shall become a perfect *Buddha*."—Ksoma de Körös, Asiatic Researches, vol. xx. p. 453.

¹ Muir, J.R.A.S. n.s. Vol. I. p. 356; Sanskrit Texts, vol. i. pp. 7, 15, etc.; vol. v. p. 371. Colebrooke, As. Res. vol. vii. p. 251; Essays, vol. i. pp. 161, 309. Max Müller, Ancient Sanskrit Literature, p. 570. Wilson, Rig Veda, vol. i. p. xlv.

² "Over the five men, or classes of men" (*pancha kshitrindm*).—Rig Veda, Wilson's translation, vol. i. pp. 20, 230, 314; ii. p. xv., "The five classes of beings," p. 170; iii. p. xxii., "The five races of men" (*pañchajanyásu krishṭishu*) 87; "The five classes of men," pp. 468, 506, etc. "The commentator explains this term to denote the four castes, *Brahman*, *Kshatriya*, *Vaiśya*, and *Súdra*, and the barbarian or *Nisháda*; but *Sryana*, of course, expresses the received opinions of his own age."—Wilson, Rig Veda, vol. i. p. xliii; also vol. ii. p. xv. See also Muir, vol. i. p. 176, *et seq.*

Pliny's detail of the castes or classes of India differs slightly from that of Megasthenes', and, like the Vedic tradition, estimates the number of divisions at *five*, excluding the lowest servile class. "The people of the more civilized nations of India are divided into several classes. One of these classes tills the earth, another attends to military affairs, others, again, are occupied in mercantile pursuits, while the wisest and most wealthy among them have the management of the affairs of State, act as judges, and give counsel to the King. The fifth class entirely devoting themselves to the pursuit of wisdom, which, in these countries, is *almost held in the same veneration as religion*." . . . "In addition to these, there is a class in a half-savage state, and doomed to endless labour; by means of their exertions, all the classes previously mentioned are supported."—Pliny, vi. 22. 19, Bohn's edition, 1855.

³ "The sage *Attri*, who was venerated by the five classes of men, . . . and baffling, showerers (of benefits), the devices of the malignant *Dasyus*."—Wilson, vol. i. p. 314 (R. V. i. viii.).

So that these references must be supposed either to apply to the Aryan tribes, as once distinguished from each other in their previous dwelling-places, or to refer to the independent waves of immigration of the clans across the Indus, which would establish a sufficiently marked subdivision of the parent race.

On the other hand, it is clear that if they had no birth-caste, they had very arrogant notions of *Varṇa* "colour," which, under modern interpretation, has come to have the primary meaning of *caste*. We find them speaking of the *Aryan varṇam*, "the Aryan-colour;"¹ and our "white-complexioned friends" are contrasted with the black skins and imperfect language of the indigenous races.²

These utterances appear to belong to the period of the Aryan progress through the Punjáb. Whether after their prolonged wanderings, the surviving members of the community reached the sacred sites on the Saraswatí in diminished force, we have no means of determining; but they would, as far as we can judge, have here found themselves in more densely inhabited districts, in disproportionate numbers to the home population, and cut off from fresh accessions from the parent stock.

But, however few in numbers, they were able to place their mark upon the future of the land, to introduce the worship of their own gods, to make their hymns the ritual, and finally, as expositors of the new religion, to elevate themselves into a sanctity but little removed from that of the deity.³

We have now to inquire, what bearing this view of *caste*

¹ "He gave horses, he gave the Sun, and INDRA gave also the many-nourishing cow: he gave golden treasure, and having destroyed the *Dasyus*, he protected the Aryan tribe."—Wilson, R.V. vol. iii. p. 56. *Aryan varṇam* "the Aryan colour."—Muir, vol. v. p. 114; and ii. 282, 360, 374. "INDRA . . . divided the fields with his white-complexioned friends."—Wilson, R.V. vol. i. p. 259.

² (Indra) "tore off the black skin." Vol. ii. p. 35 (ii. i. 8). (Indra) "scattered the black-sprung servile" (hosts). Vol. ii. p. 258 (ii. vi. 6). (*Dasyus*) "who are babblers defective in speech." Vol. iv. p. 42. "may we conquer in battle the ill-speaking man." Vol. iv. p. 60.

³ "viii. 381. No greater crime is known on earth than slaying a Bráhmaṇ; and the King, therefore, must not even form in his mind an idea of killing a priest."

"ix. 317. A Bráhmaṇ, whether learned or ignorant, is a powerful divinity."

"ix. Thus, although Bráhmaṇs employ themselves in all sorts of mean occupation, they must invariably be honoured; for they are something transcendently divine."—G. C. Haughton, "The Institutes of Manu" (1825).

has upon the pretensions of the Jainas to high antiquity. It is clear that the elaboration and gradual development of the subdivisions of caste must have been the work of ages; in early times limited to four classes of men, it has so grown that, in our day, in a single district in Upper India, the official statistical return gives no less than ninety-five classes of the population, as ranged under the heading of "Caste,"¹ and the full total for the entire government of the North-Western Provinces mounts up "to no less than 560 castes among the Hindus" alone.²

If this be taken as the rate of increase, to what primitive times must we assign the pre-caste period, and with it the indigenous population represented by those, who, with the simplest form of worship, avowedly lived a life of equality before their Maker; and so long resisted any recognition of caste, till the force of example and surrounding custom led them exceptionally, and in a clumsy way,³ to subject the free worship of each independent votary to the control of a ministering priesthood.

We may conclude, for all present purposes, that Vindusára followed the faith of his father, and that, in the same belief—whatever it may prove to have been—his childhood's lessons were first learnt by Aṣoka.

The Ceylon authorities assert that Vindusára's creed was "Brahmanical," but, under any circumstances, their testimony would not carry much weight in the argument about other lands and other times, and it is, moreover, a critical question as to how much they knew about Brahmanism *itself*, and whether the use of the word *Brahman* does not merely imply, in their sense, a non-Buddhistic or any religion opposed to their own.⁴

¹ Report on Saháranpur, Elliot's Glossary, vol. i. p. 296.

² Ibid, p. 283. Census Report for 1865.

³ "VRISHABHANÁTHA was incarnate in this world . . . at the city of *Ayodhyá*. . . He also arranged the various duties of mankind, and allotted to men the means of subsistence, viz. *Así*, 'the sword;' *Masi*, 'letters' (*lit.* ink); *Krishí*, 'agriculture;' *Vániyya*, 'commerce;' *Paṣupála*, 'attendance on cattle.' . . . Thus Vrishabhanátha established the religion of the Jains, in its four classes or castes, of *Bráhmans*, *Kshatris*, *Vaisyas*, and *Sudras*."—C. Mackenzie, *Asiatic Researches*, vol. ix. p. 259.

⁴ "The father (of Aṣoka) being of the Brahmanical faith, maintained (bestowing daily alms) 60,000 Brahman. He himself in like manner bestowed them for 3 years."—Mahawanso, p. 23.

I now arrive at the primary object, which, in nominal terms, heads this paper, regarding the relative precedence of Jainism and Buddhism, as tried and tested by the ultimate determination of "the early faith of Ašoka."

In the preliminary inquiry, I have often had to rely upon casual and inconsecutive evidence, which my readers may estimate after their own ideas and predilections. I have at length to face what might previously have been regarded as the crucial difficulty of my argument; but all doubts and obscurities in that direction may now be dissipated before Ašoka's *own* words, which he or his advisers took such infinite pains to perpetuate—under the triple phases of his tardy religious progress—on rocks and big stones, and more elaborately-prepared Indian *Láts* or monoliths.

It is fully ascertained, that the knowledge of the characters of this *Lát* alphabet, together with the power of interpreting the meaning of these edicts, had been altogether lost and obscured in the land, where these very monuments stood undefaced, up to the fourteenth century A.D.; when Fírúz Sháh, on the occasion of the removal of two of the northern monoliths to his new city on the Jumna, ineffectually summoned the learned of all and every class and creed, from far and near, to explain the writing on their surfaces.¹ It is therefore satisfactory to find that, so to say, *Jaina* records had preserved *intact* a tradition of what the once again legible purport of the inscriptions reveals, as coincident with the subdued and elsewhere disregarded pretensions of the sect.

Abúl Fazl, the accomplished minister of Akbar, is known to have been largely indebted to the *Jaina* priests and their carefully preserved chronicles, for much of his knowledge of the past, or *Hindú*, period of the empire he had to describe statistically, under the various aspects of its soils, its revenues, its ancient legends, its conflicting creeds, etc. In his *A'in-i-Akbari* he has retained, in his notice of the kingdom of Kashmír, *three* very important entries, exhibited in the

¹ My Pathán Kings of Dehli, p. 292. General Cunningham, Arch. Rep. vol. i. pp. 155, 161. Elliot's Historians, vol. iii. p. 352.

original Persian version quoted below,¹ which establish: (1) that Aṣoka himself first introduced "JAINISM," *eo nomine*, into the kingdom of Kashmír; (2) that "Buddhism" was dominant there during the reign of Jaloka; and (3) that Brahmanism superseded Buddhism under Rája *Sachinara*.²

و چون فرماندهی باشوكِ پسرِ عمِ راجه جنكٔ باز كرديد كيش¹
 —Dr. Blochmann's revised text, p. 579. During the reign of Jaloka Buddhism is stated to have been prevalent. (و آئينِ بودۀ در ان زمانِ روائيِ يافت). Under Raja Sachinara the Brahmins again asserted their supremacy بر بودۀ در زمانِ راجه نر برهمن پ. 580. چيره دست آمدند و پرستش جای آنان خاك توده گشت

² KINGS OF KASHMÍR AFTER 35 PRINCES "WHOSE NAMES ARE FORGOTTEN."
 PERSIAN NAMES. SANSKRIT NAMES (As. Rcs. xv.).

لوه (*Lava*).

كشن پورِ او *Kuseṣaya*.

كپگهندر پورِ او (*variant* تيجمينير) *Khagendra*.

سرندر پورِ او *Surendra*.

گودهر از قومِ ديگر *Godhara*.

سورن پسرِ او *Suvarna*.

جنكٔ پسرِ او *Janaka*.

شچي نر پسرِ او *Sachinara*.

اشوكِ پسرِ عمِ جنكٔ *Aṣoka*, descended from the paternal great-uncle of *Khagendra*.)

جالوكِ پسرِ او *Jaloka*.

دامودر از اولادِ اشوكِ *Dámodara*.

هشكٔ, زشكٔ, (بیشكٔ var.) كنشكٔ } *Hushka, Jushka, Kanish-*
 هر سه برادرِ آئينِ بودۀ داشتند } *ka*.

ابه من *Abhimanyu*.

In brief, this extraneous evidence, from possibly secondary Jaina sources, is fully consistent with what Aṣoka has still to disclose in the texts of his own inscriptions; but it conveys, indirectly, even more than those formal and largely-distributed official documents—which merely allow us to infer that Aṣoka's conversion to Buddhism occurred late in his life or reign. But the annals of Kashmír, on the other hand, more emphatically imply that either he did not seek to spread, or had not the chance or opportunity of propagating his new faith in the outlying sections of his dominions; and that, in this valley of Kashmír, at least, Buddhism came after him, as a consequence of his southern surrender rather than as a deliberate promulgation of a well-matured belief on his part.

The leading fact of Aṣoka's introduction or recognition of the Jaina creed in Kashmír, above stated, does not, however, rest upon the sole testimony of the Muhammadan author, but is freely acknowledged in the Brahmanical pages of the *Rája Taranginí*—a work which, though finally compiled and put together only in 1148 A.D., relies, in this section of its history, upon the more archaic writings of *Padma Mihira* and *Śrī Chhavillákára*. Professor Wilson's recapitulation of the context of this passage is somewhat obscure, as, while hesitating to admit that Aṣoka "introduced" into Kashmír "the *Jina Śásana*," he, inconsistently, affirms that "he invented or originated" it. If so, we must suppose that *Jainism* had its germ and infantile birth in an outlying valley of the Himálaya in 250 B.C.—a conclusion which is beyond measure improbable.¹

¹ Professor Wilson's paraphrase runs: "The last of these princes being childless, the crown of Kashmír reverted to the family of its former rulers, and devolved on AṢOKA, who was descended from the paternal great uncle of KHAGENDRA. This prince, it is said in the *Ain-i-Akbari*, abolished the Brahmanical rites, and substituted those of *Jina*: from the original (text of the *Rája Taranginí*), however, it appears that he by no means attempted the former of these heinous acts, and that, on the contrary, he was a pious worshipper of Siva, an ancient temple of whom in the character of Viṣṇu he repaired. With respect to the second charge, there is better foundation for it, although it appears that this prince did not introduce, but invented or originated the *Jina Śásana*."—As. Res. vol. xv. p. 19.

The text and purport of the original are subjoined; the latter runs: "Then the prince Aṣoka, the lover of truth, obtained the earth; who sinning in subdued affections produced the *Jina Śásana*. Jaloka, the son and successor of Aṣoka,

I had outlined and transcribed the subjoined sketch of the contrasted stages of Ašoka's edicts, before the *Indian Antiquary* containing Dr. Kern's revision of the translations of his predecessors came under my notice.

As I understand the position of the inquiry at this moment, Dr. Kern is aided by no novel data or materials beyond the reach of those who came to the front before him, and it may chance to prove that he has been precipitate in closing his case, while a new and very perfect version of the same series of inscriptions, at Khalsi, is still awaiting General Cunningham's final *imprimatur*—a counterpart engrossed in more fully-defined characters, which Dr. Kern does not appear to have heard of. Dr. Kern's method of dealing with his materials might not commend itself to some interpreters. He confesses that *the* original, or *Palace* copy, forming the basis of all other variants, was cast in the dialect of Magadhá, and he then goes through the curious process of reducing the Girnár text—which he takes as *his* representative *test*—into classical or Brahmanic Sanskrit, on which he relies for his competitive translation. At the same time he admits, without reserve, that the geographically distributed versions of the guiding *scripture* were systematically adapted to the various dialects of "Gujarátí

was a prince of great prowess; he overcame the assertors of the *Bauddha* heresies, and quickly expelled the Mlechhas from the country. . . .

"The conquest of Kanauj by this prince is connected with an event not improbable in itself, and which possibly marks the introduction of the Brahmanical creed, in its more perfect form, into this kingdom, and Jaloka is said to have adopted thence the distinction of castes, and the practices which were at that time established in the neighbouring kingdoms. . . . He forbore in the latter part of his reign from molesting the followers of the *Bauddha* schism, and even bestowed on them some endowments."—As. Res. vol. xv. p. 21.

Troyer's translation of 102 runs:

"Ce monarque (Ašoka) ayant éteint *en lui* tout penchant vicieux, embrassa la religion de Djina, et étendit *sa domination* par des enclos d'élévations sacrées de terre dans *le pays* de Čuchkala, où est située la montagne de Vitastá.

103. La Vitastá passait dans la ville au milieu des bois sacrés et des Viháras; c'était là où s'élevait, bâti par lui, un sanctuaire de Buddha, d'une hauteur dont l'œil ne pouvait atteindre les limites."—vol. ii. p. 12.

A notice which may have some bearing upon these events is to be found in the *Dulva*. It purports to declare: "100 years after the disappearance of Sākya, his religion is carried into Kashmír. 110 years after the same event, in the reign of Ašoka, King of Pátaliputra, a new compilation of the laws . . . was prepared at Alláhábád."—J.A.S. Bengal, vol. i. p. 6.

or Maráthí—Mágadhí, and Gándhári” [the Semitic version of Kapurdigiri].

I should have had more confidence in this rectification of the translations of all previous masters of the craft, if the modern critic had proceeded upon diametrically opposite principles, and had recognized the confessed necessity of the variation and distribution of dialects, site by site, as a fact making against the pretended supremacy of classical Sanskrit at this early date.¹

Singular to say, with all these reservations, I am fully prepared to accept so much of Dr. Kern’s general conclusions as, without concert, chances opportunely to support and confirm my leading argument, with regard to the predominance of Jainism in the first and second series of Aśoka’s Inscriptions. Dr. Kern, elsewhere, relies on a short indorsement of, or supplementary addition to, the framework of the Girnár Inscription, as satisfactorily proving, to his perception, the Buddhistical import of the whole set of Edicts which precede it on the same rock.²

I am under the impression that this incised scroll is of later date than the body of the epigraph. It is larger in size, does not range with the rest of the writing, and does not, in terms, fit-in with the previous context. Of course should it prove to be authentic and synchronous in execution with the other chiselled letters, and, at the same time, of *exclusively* Buddhist tendency, I might regard its tenor as

¹ The pretence of the universality of the Sanskrit language in India at this period has often been contested in respect to the method of reconstruction of these ancient monuments. Mr. Turnour was the first to protest against James Prinsep’s submission to the *Sanskritic* tendencies of his Pandits. Mr. B. Hodgson, in like manner, consistently upheld the local claims and prior currency of the various forms of the vernaculars, and, most unquestionably, Professor Wilson’s own perception and faculty of interpreting this class of inter-provincial records was damaged and obscured by his obstinate demands for good dictionary Sanskrit.

² “In one place only—I mean the signature of the Girnár inscription—the following words have reference to Buddha. Of this signature there remains,

. . . *va sveto hasti savalokasukháharo náma.*

What has to be supplied at the beginning I leave to the ingenuity of others to determine, but what is left means ‘the white elephant’ whose name is ‘Bringer of

of more importance; but, even accepting all Dr. Kern's arguments in favour of "*White Elephants*," which I distrust altogether, how are we to reconcile the repeated arrays of elephants, (the special symbol of the second *Jina*), upon acknowledged Jaina sculptures, with anything but the general identity of symbols of both sects, and a possible derivation on the part of the Buddhists?

Dr. Kern thus concludes his final *résumé*:—

"The Edicts give an idea of what the King did for his subjects in his wide empire, which extended from Behár to Gándhára, from the Himáláya to the coast of Coromandel and Páñḍya. They are not unimportant for the criticism of the Buddhistic traditions, though they give us exceedingly little concerning the condition of the doctrine and its adherents. . . .

"At fitting time and place, [Aṣoka] makes mention, in a modest and becoming manner, of the doctrine he had embraced; but nothing of a Buddhist spirit can be discovered in his State policy. From the very beginning of his reign he was a good prince. His ordinances concerning the sparing of animal life agree much more closely with the ideas of the heretical Jainas than those of the Buddhists." (p. 275.)

THE EDICTS OF AṢOKA.

Prof. Wilson, when revising the scattered texts of Aṣoka's Edicts within the reach of the commentators of 1849, declared, and, as we may now see, rightly maintained, that there was nothing *demonstrably* "Buddhist" in any of the preliminary or Rock Inscriptions of that monarch, though, then and since, he has been so prominently put

happiness to the whole world.' That by this term Śákya is implied, there can be no doubt (he entered his mother's womb as a white elephant,—*Lalita Vistara*, p. 63). . . . Even if the signature is not to be attributed to the scribe, the custom evidently even then prevalent, and still in use at the present day, of naming at the end of the inscription the divinity worshipped by the writer or scribe, can offer no serious difficulty."—I. A. p. 258. [If Śákya Muni was the seed of the white elephant, how came he to be so disrespectful to his deceased relatives as to speak of his dead friend "*the white elephant*" Devadatta killed, as "*cet être qui a un grand corps, en se décomposant, remplirait toute la ville d'une mauvaise odeur*"?]]

forward as the special patron and promoter of *the Creed of Sakya Muni*.¹

In the single-handed contest between Buddhism and Brahmanism, Prof. Wilson made no pretence to discover any *status*—throughout the whole range of these formal records—for the latter religion; except in the vague way of a notice of the Brahmans and Sramans mentioned in the corresponding palæographic texts, which were, in a measure, associated with the coeval references of the Greek authors to these identical designations. But no suggestion seems to have presented itself to him, as an alternative, of old-world *Jainism* progressing into a facile introduction to philosophic Buddhism.

We have now to compare the divergencies exhibited between the incidental records of the tenth, twelfth, and possibly following years, with the advanced declarations of the twenty-seventh year of Aśoka's reign. We find the earlier proclamations advocating *Dharma*,² which certainly does not come up to our ideal of "religion," represented in its simplest phase of duty to others, which, among these untutored peoples,

¹ "In the first place, then, with respect to the supposed main purport of the inscription, proselytism to the Buddhist religion, it may not unreasonably be doubted if they were made public with any such design, and whether they have any connexion with Buddhism at all."—J.R.A.S. Vol. XII. p. 236. "There is nothing in the injunctions promulgated or sentiments expressed in the inscriptions, in the sense in which I have suggested their interpretation, that is decidedly and exclusively characteristic of Buddhism. The main object of the first appears, it is true, to be a prohibition of destroying animal life, but it is a mistake to ascribe the doctrine to the Buddhists alone." p. 238. "From these considerations, I have been compelled to withhold my unqualified assent to the confident opinions that have been entertained respecting the object and origin of the inscriptions. Without denying the possibility of their being intended to disseminate Buddhism, . . . there are difficulties in the way, . . . which, to say the least, render any such an attribution extremely uncertain." p. 250.

² The four *Dharmas*, in their simplicity, are defined by the Northern Jainas as "merits," as consequent upon the five *Mahāvratas* or "great duties."—Wilson's Essays, vol. i. p. 317. This idea progressed, in aftertimes, into a classification of the separate duties of each rank in life, or the "prescribed course of duty." Thus "giving alms," etc., is the *dharma* of the householder, "administering justice" of a king, "piety" of a Brahman, "courage" of a Kshatriya.—M. Williams, *sub voce*. "Later Jaina interpretations of the term *Dharma* in Southern India extend to 'virtue, duty, justice, righteousness, rectitude, religion.' It is said to be the quality of the individual self which arises from action, and leads to happiness and final beatitude. It also means Law, and has for its object *Dharma*, things to be done, and *Adharma*, things 'to be avoided.' This *Dharma* is said by the Jainas to be eternal. *Dharma*, as well as *Veda*, if they are true Virtue and Law, are attributes or perfections of the Divine Being, and as such are eternal."—Chintamani, Rev. H. Bower, p. xl. See also Max Müller's "Sanskrit Literature," p. 101: "In our Sūtra *Dharma* means Law," etc. The intuitive

assumed the leading form of futile mercy to the lower animals, extending into the devices of "Hospitals" for the suffering members of the brute creation, and ultimately, in after-times, progressing into the absurdity of the wearing of respirators and the perpetual waving of fans, to avoid the destruction of minute insect life. An infatuation, which eventually led to the surrendering thrones and kingdoms, to avoid a chance step which should crush a worm, or anything that crept upon the face of the earth; and more detrimental still, a regal interference with the every-day life of the people at large, and the subjecting of human labour to an enforced three months' cessation in the year, in order that a moth should not approach a lighted lamp, and the revolving wheel should not crush a living atom in the mill.

I have arranged, in the subjoined full *résumé* of the three phases or gradations "of Aşoka's faith," as much of a contrast as the original texts, under their modern reproductions, admit of; exhibiting, in the first period, his feelings and inspirations from the tenth to the twelfth year after his inauguration; following on to the second, or advanced phase of thought, which pervades the manifestos of his twenty-seventh year; and exhibiting, as a climax of the whole series of utterances, his free and outspoken profession of faith in the hitherto unrecognized "*Buddha*."

The difference between the first and second series of declarations or definitions of *Dharma* is not so striking as the interval in point of time, and the opportunities of fifteen years of quasi-religious meditation, might have led us to expect; but still, there is palpable change in the scope of thought—"a marked advance in faith"; only the faith is indefinite, and the morals still continue supreme. Happily, for the present inquiry, there is nothing in these authentic documents which has any pretence to be either Vedic or

feeling that "laborare est orare" seems to have prevailed largely in the land, and would undoubtedly have been fostered and encouraged under the gradual development of caste. The great Akbar appears to have participated in the impressions of his Hindu subjects; for we find him, in the words of his modern biographer, described as one "who looks upon the performance of his duties as an act of divine worship."—Dr. Blochmann's translation of the *Ain-i-Akbari*, p. iii.

Brahmanical, and therefore we can pass by, for the moment, all needless comparisons between the terms "Brahmans and Sramans"—the latter of whom equally represented Jainas and Buddhists—a controversy to which undue emphasis and importance has been hitherto assigned, and confine ourselves to Aṣoka's aims in departing from the silence of the past, and covering the continent of India with his written proclamations. His ideas and aspirations, as exhibited in his early declarations, are tentative and modest in the extreme: in fact, he confesses, in his later summaries, that these inscribed edicts represent occasional thoughts and suggestive inspirations; indeed, that they were put forth, from time to time, and often, we must conclude, ostentatiously *dated*, without reference to their period of acceptance or their ultimate place on the very stones on which we find them.

When closely examined, the two sets of edicts, contrasted by their positions as ROCK and PILLAR Inscriptions, covering, more or less, a national movement of fifteen years, resolve themselves into a change in the *Dharma* or religious law advocated by the ruling power of very limited and natural extent. The second series of manifestos are marked, on the one hand, by a deliberate rejection of some of the minor delusions of the earlier documents, and show an advance to a distinction and discrimination between good and evil animals, a more definite scale of apportionment of crimes and their appropriate punishments, completed by an outline of the ruling moral polity, reading like a passage from Megasthenes,¹ in regard to the duties of inspectors, and forming a consistent advance upon Chandra Gupta's moral code.

¹ Arrian xii.; Strabo xv. 48; Diod. Sic. ii. 3. There are several points in the Greek accounts of Indian creeds which have hitherto been misunderstood, and which have tended to complicate and involve the true state of things existing in the land at the periods referred to. Among the rest is *the grand question*, in the present inquiry, of *Jaina versus Buddhist*, of which the following is an illustration:—Fah Hian, chap. xxx. "*The honourable of the age* (Buddha) has established a law that no one should destroy his own life."

Mr. Laidlay adds, as a commentary upon this passage:—"The law here alluded to is mentioned in the *Dulva* (p. 162 to 239): where, in consequence of several instances of suicide among the monks, . . . Sākya prohibits discourses upon that subject. So that the practice of self-immolation ascribed by the Greek historians to the Buddhists was, like that of going naked, a departure from orthodox principles."—p. 278.

The Rev. S. Beal, in his revised translation of Fah Hian, in confirming this

All these indications, and many more significant items, may, perchance, be traced by those, who care to follow the divergencies presented in the subjoined extracts; but no ingenuity can shake the import of the fact, that, up to the twenty-seventh year of his reign, Aṣoka had no definite idea of or leaning towards Buddhism, as represented in its after-development. His final confession and free and frank recognition of the name and teaching of Buddha in the Babhra proclamation, form a crucial contrast to all he had so elaborately advocated and indorsed upon stone, throughout his dominions, during the nearly full generation of his fellow-men, amid whom he had occupied the supreme throne of India.

As my readers may be curious to see the absolute form in which this remarkable series of Palæographic monuments were presented to the intelligent public of India, or to their authorized interpreters, in the third century B.C., I have, at the last moment,¹ taken advantage of Mr. Burgess's very successful paper-impressions, or *squeezes*, of the counterpart inscription on the Girnār rock, to secure an autotype reproduction of the opening tablets of that version of the closely parallel texts of Aṣoka's Edicts. Those who are not conversant with ancient palæographies may also be glad of

conclusion of Mr. Laidlay, emphatically declares, "I doubt very much whether there is any reference to Buddhists in the Greek accounts."—pp. xlii, 119. See also J.R.A.S. Vol. XIX. p. 420, and Vol. VIII. N.S. p. 100.

"A long series of the rock inscriptions at Śravaṇa Belgōḷa, in the same old characters, consist of what may be termed epitaphs to Jaina saints and ascetics, both male and female, or memorials of their emancipation from the body. . . . It is painful to imagine the pangs of slow starvation, by which these pitiable beings gave themselves up to death and put an end to their own existence, that by virtue of such extreme penance they might acquire merit for the life to come. . . . The irony is complete when we remember that avoidance of the destruction of life in whatever form is a fundamental doctrine of the sect." . . . The inscriptions before us are in the oldest dialect of the Kanarese. The expression *muḍippidar*, with which most of them terminate, is one which seems peculiar to the Jainas."—Mr. Lewis Rice, *Indian Antiquary*, 1873, p. 322.

The passages regarding *suicidal* philosophers will be found in Megasthenes (Strabo xv. i. 64, 73); Q. Curtius viii. ix. sec. 33; Pliny, vi. c. 22, sec. 19; Arrian xi.

The *naked* saints figure in Megasthenes (Strabo xv. 60), Cleitarchus (Strabo xv. 70), Q. Curtius, viii. ix. 33.

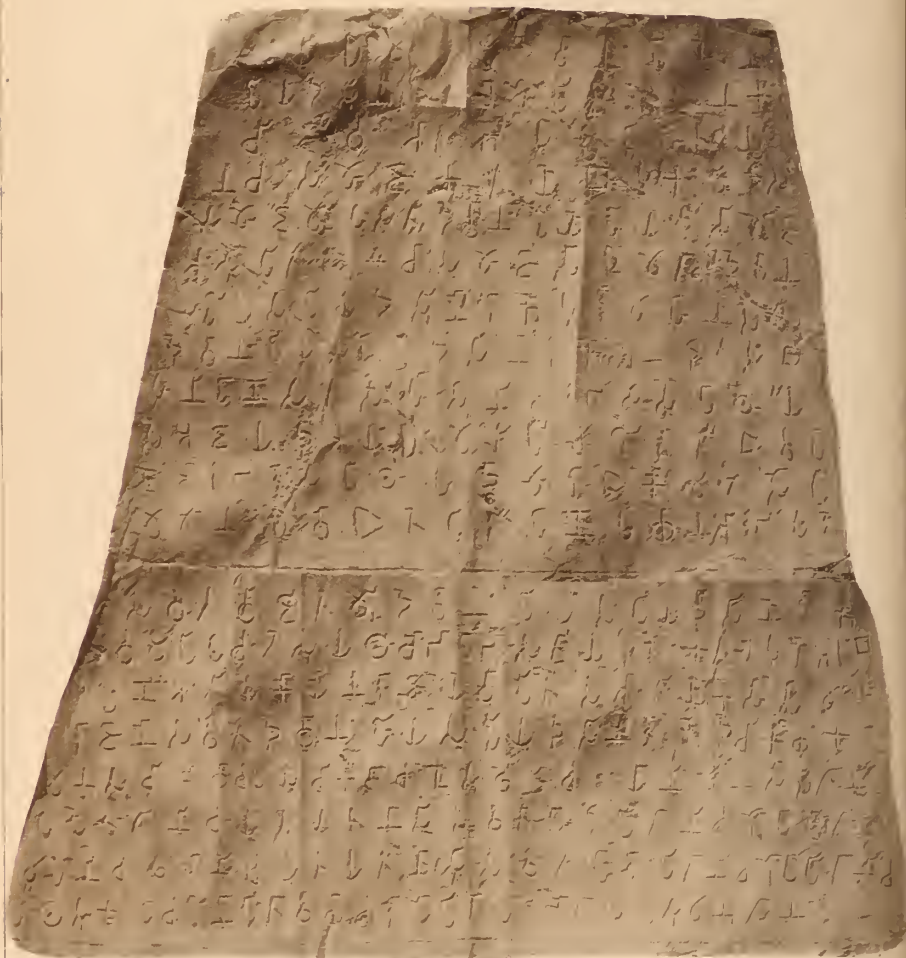
¹ Mr. Burgess's Report for 1874-5 reached me on the 15th February, 1877, a few days only before the Meeting of the Royal Asiatic Society at which this paper was read. These paper-impressions are now deposited in the Library of the India Office.

the opportunity of examining the nature of the alphabetical system here in force—which constituted, in effect, the *Alphabet Mère* of India at large. These inscriptions, of about 250 B.C., contribute the earliest specimens of indigenous writing we are able to cite, their preservation and multiplication being apparently due to a newly-awakened royal inspiration of engraving edicts and moral admonitions on stone. This alphabetical system must clearly have passed through long ages of minority before it could have attained the full maturity in which it, so to say, suddenly presents itself over the whole face of the land. And which from that moment, unimproved to this day, asserts its claim to the title of the most perfect alphabet extant.

The Sanskrit-speaking Aryans discarded, in its favour, the old Phœnician character they had learnt, laboriously transformed, and finally adapted to the requirements of their own tongue, during their passage through the narrow valleys of the Himalaya, and their subsequent residence on the southern slopes of the range, in the Sapta Sindhu or Punjab, which scheme of writing would appear to have answered to the term of the *Yavanāni lipi* of Pāṇini and the earlier Indian grammarians.

In this second process of adaptation, the Aryans had to repudiate the normal ethnographic sequence of the short and long vowels, to add two consonants of their own (श, ष) utterly foreign to the local alphabet, and to accept from that alphabet a class of letters, *unneded* for the definition of Aryan tongues; an inference which is tested and proved by the fact that accomplished linguists of our age and nationality are seldöm competent to pronounce or orally define the current Indian cerebrals.¹

¹ Prinsep's Essays (Murray, 1858), pp. ii. 43, 144, 151, etc. Burnouf, Yasna, p. cxlv. Bopp's Grammar (Eastwick), i. 14. Lassen, "Essai sur le Pali," p. 15. J.R.A.S., o.s. X. 63; XII. 236; XIII. 108; XV. 19; n.s. I. 467; V. 423. J.A.S. Beng., 1863, p. 158; 1867, p. 33. Journ. Bom. Branch R.A.S., 1858, p. 41. Ancient Indian Weights (Numismata Orientalia, Part i. Trübner, 1874), pp. 3, 6, 21, 48. Numismatic Chronicle, 1863, p. 226. Caldwell, Dravidian Grammar (edit. 1875), pp. 13, 45, 64, 69, 82, 92, etc. Muir, Sanskrit Texts, ii. xxiv, and 34n, 440n, 468, 488, etc. Weber, "Greek and Indian Letters," Ind. Ant. 1873, p. 143. "On the Dravidian Element in Sanskrit



ASOKA'S INSCRIPTION AT GIRNAR.

places where roots and fruits were wanting he has caused them to be brought and planted; also he has caused wells to be dug and trees to be planted, on the roads for the benefit of cattle.”—Indian Antiquary, p. 272; Arch. Rep. 1874–5, p. 99.

The 3rd section adverts to “expiation,” and the 4th continues: “During a past period of many centuries, there have prevailed, destruction of life, injury to living beings, disrespect towards kindred, and irreverence towards Sramans and Brahmans.”¹

The 5th edict, after a suitable preamble, proceeds:

“Therefore in the tenth year of the inauguration have ministers of morality been made,² who are appointed for the purpose of presiding over morals among persons of all the religions, for the sake of the augmentation of virtue and for the happiness of the virtuous among the people of Kamboja, Gandhara, Naristaka and Pitenika. They shall also be spread among the warriors, the Brahmans, the mendicants, the destitute and others.” . . .

The 6th edict declares:—“An unprecedentedly long time has passed since it has been the custom at all times and in all affairs, to submit representations. Now it is established by me that . . . the officers appointed to make reports shall convey to me the objects of the people”—and goes on to define the duties of supervisors of morals, and explain their duties as “informers,” etc., continuing:—

“There is nothing more essential to the good of the world, for which I am always labouring. On the many beings over whom

¹ Dr. Kern’s elaborate criticism of Burnouf’s revision of Prof. Wilson’s translation of this passage (*Lotus de la Bonne Loi*, p. 731) scarcely alters the material sense quoted above. His version runs:

“In past times, during many centuries, attacking animal life and inflicting suffering on the creatures, want of respect for Brāhmans and monks.”

Dr. Kern, in the course of his remarks upon his new rendering, observes, “Apart from the style, there is so little exclusively Buddhistic in this document, that we might equally well conclude from it that the King, satiated with war, had become the president of a peace society and an association for the protection of the lower animals, as that he had embraced the doctrine of Śākya Muni.”—*I. A.*, p. 262.

² The Cuttack version of the Edicts differs from the associate texts, saying, “who shall be intermingled with all the hundred grades of unbelievers for the establishment among them of the faith, for the increase of religion . . . in Kambocha and Gandhāra, in Surāstrika and Pitenika, . . . and even to the furthest (limits) of the barbarian (countries). Who shall mix with the *Brahmans* and *Bhikshus*, with the poor and with the rich.”—p. 190; Prinsep, *J.A.S. Bengal*.

I rule I confer happiness in this world,—in the next they may obtain *Swarga* (heaven)."¹

Tablet 7 does not seem to call for any remark. Tablet 8 refers to some change that came over the royal mind in the tenth year of his reign. "Piyadasi, the beloved of the gods, having been ten years inaugurated, by him easily awakened, that moral festival is adopted (which consists) in seeing and bestowing gifts on Brahmanas and Sramanas, . . . overseeing the country and the people; the institution of moral laws," etc.

Burnouf's amended translation differs from this materially. He writes :

"[*Mais*] Piyadasi, le roi chéri des Dévas, parvenu à la dixième année depuis son sacre, obtient la science parfaite que donne la Buddha. C'est pourquoi la promenade de la roi est cette qu'il faut faire, ce sont la visite et l'aumône faites aux Brâhmanes et aux Samaņas." . . .

I see that Dr. Kern now proposes to interpret this contested passage as,

"But King Devánāmpriya Priyadarṣin, ten years after his inauguration, came to the true insight. Therefore he began a walk of righteousness, which consists in this, that he sees at his house and bestows gifts upon Brâhmanas and monks. . . . Since then this is the greatest pleasure of King Devánāmpriya Priyadarṣin in the period after his conversion" [to what?].—I. A. p. 263.

In his remarks upon the tenor of this brief tablet Dr. Kern continues,

"It is distinguished by a certain simplicity and sentiment of tone, which makes it touch a chord in the human breast. There is a tenderness in it, so vividly different from the insensibility of the later monkish literature of Buddhism, of which Th. Pavie observes, with so much justice, 'Tout reste donc glacé dans ce monde bouddhique.'"

Tablet 9, speaking of festivities in general, declares :

"Such festivities are fruitless and vain, but the festivity that bears great fruit is the festival of duty, such as the respect of the servant to his master; reverence for holy teachers is good, tender-

¹ Lassen renders this, "my whole endeavour is to be blameless towards all creatures, to make them happy here below and enable them hereafter to obtain *Svarga*."—Indian Antiquary, p. 270.

ness for living creatures is good, liberality to Brahmans and Sramanas is good. These and other such acts constitute verily the festival of duty. . . With these means let a man seek *Swarga*.”¹

Tablet 10 contrasts the emptiness of earthly fame as compared with the “observance of moral duty,” and section 11 equally discourses on “virtue,” which is defined as “the cherishing of slaves and dependents, pious devotion to mother and father, generous gifts to friends and kinsmen, Brahmanas and Sramanas, and the non-injury of living beings.”

Tablet 12 commences: “The beloved of the gods, King Priyadasi, honours all forms of religious faith,”² . . . and enjoins “reverence for one’s own faith, and no reviling nor injury of that of others. Let the reverence be shown in such and such a manner, as is suited to the difference of belief,”³ . . . “for he who in some way honours his own religion and reviles that of others, saying, having extended to all our own belief, let us make it famous, he, who does this, throws difficulties in the way of his own religion: this, his conduct cannot be right.” . . . The Edict goes on to say, “And as this is the object of all religions, with a view to its dissemination, superintendents of moral duty, as well as over women, and officers of compassion, as well as other officers” (are appointed).⁴

The 13th Tablet, which Professor Wilson declined to translate, as the Kapur di Giri text afforded no trustworthy corrective, seems, from Mr. Prinsep’s version, to recapitulate much that has been said before, with a reiterated “injunction for the non-injury of animals and content of living creatures,” sentiments in which he appears to seek the sympathy of the “Greek King Antiochus,” together (as we now know⁵) with that of the “four kings Ptolemy, Antigonus, Magas and

¹ Dr. Kern’s conclusion of Tablet 9 runs as follows, “By doing all this, a man can merit heaven; therefore let him who wishes to gain heaven for himself fulfil, above all things, these his duties.”—I. A., p. 271.

² Dr. Kern’s rendering says “honour all sects and orders of monks.”

³ “so that no man may praise his own sect or condemn another sect.”

⁴ “For this end, sheriffs over legal proceedings, magistrates entrusted with the superintendence of the women, hospice-masters (?) and other bodies have been appointed.”—I. A., p. 268.

⁵ Gen. Cunningham, Arch. Report, vol. i. p. 247, and vol. v. p. 20. See also my “Dynasty of the Guptas in India,” p. 34. I append the tentative trans-

Alexander." The postscript in larger letters outside the square of this tablet adds, according to Prinsep, "And this place is named the WHITE ELEPHANT, conferring pleasure on all the world."

Prof. Wilson, in conclusion of his review of the purport of these palæographic documents, adverts to the Tablet numbered 14 in the original list, but he does not seem to have had sufficient confidence in his materials to have ventured upon a continuous translation.¹

PERIOD II. THE ADVANCED STAGE.

The contrasted Láṭ or Monolithic Inscriptions,² as opposed

literation of the several versions of this tablet, which I had prepared for the latter work.

My learned friends are unwilling as yet to compromise themselves by a translation of the still imperfect text.

TRANSLITERATIONS OF TABLET XIII. OF THE AŚOKA INSCRIPTIONS AT (1) KAPUR-DI-GIRI, (2) KHALSI, AND (3) GIRNÁR.

1. *Ka.* Antiyoka namá Yona raja paran cha tenan Antiyokena chatura |||| rajano
2. *Kh.* Antiyoga náma Yona . . lan chá tena Antiyō . ná chatali + lajane
3. *Gir.* Yona raja paran cha tena chaptēna[sic]rajano

1. *Ka.* Traramaye namá Antikina namá Māka namá Alikasandaro namá
2. *Kh.* Tulamaye náma Antekina náma Māká náma Alikyasadale uāma
3. *Gir.* Turamáyo cha Antakana cha Magá cha

1. *Ka.* nicham Choḍa, Paṇḍa, Avam Tambupanniya hevammevamhena raja
2. *Kh.* uicham Choḍa, Paṇḍiya, Avam Tambapaniyá hevameváhevamevá . . lájá
3. *Gir.*

1. *Ka.* Vishatidi Yonam Kamboyeshu Nibha Kanabhatina Bhojam Piti
2. *Kh.* Vishmavasi Yona Kambojasu Nubha Kánábha Pantisa Bhoja Piti
3. *Gir.*

1. *Ka.* Nikeshu, Andrapulideshu savatam

2. *Kh.* Nikesa Adhapiladesa savatá

3. *Gir.* ndhepíraudesu savata

Under the Elephant at Khalsi, *Gajatemre*? At Girnár, *Sveto hasti*, as above, p. 34.

¹ The 14th Edict at Girnár is more curious, in respect to the preparation of the Edicts, than instructive in the religious sense. Dr. Kern's revision produces, "King Devánāmpriya Priyadarṣin has caused this righteousness edict to be written, here concisely, there in a moderate compass, and in a third place again at full length, so that it is not found altogether everywhere worked out; (?) for the kingdom is great, and what I have caused to be written much. Repetitions occur also, in a certain measure, on account of the sweetness of certain points, in order that the people should in that way (the more willingly) receive it. If sometimes the one or other is written incompletely or not in order, it is because care has not been taken to make a good transcript (*chháya*) or by the fault of the copyist (*i.e.* the stone-cutter)."—I. A., p. 275.

² J. As. Soc. Bengal, vol. vi. 1837, p. 566. The text on the Dehli láṭ has been taken as the standard; these edicts are repeated verbatim on the three other láṭs of Allahábád, Betiah and Radhia.

to the Rock edicts already examined, open, in the text of the Tablet on the northern face of the Dehli pillar, with these words :

A

“In the 27th year of my anointment, I have caused this religious edict to be published in writing.¹ I acknowledge and confess the faults that have been cherished in my heart. From the love of virtue, by the side of which all other things are as sins—from the strict scrutiny of sin, etc., . . . by these may my eyes be strengthened and confirmed (in rectitude).” . . .

In the 10th line the King continues :

“In religion (*dhamma*) is the chief excellence : but religion consists in good works :—in the non-omission of many acts : mercy and charity, purity and chastity ;—(these are) to me the anointment of consecration. Towards the poor and the afflicted, towards bipeds and quadrupeds, towards the fowls of the air and things that move on the waters, manifold have been the benevolent acts performed by me.”

The concluding section of this tablet is devoted to a definition of the “nine minor transgressions,” of which the following five alone are specified : “mischief, hard-heartedness, anger, pride, envy.”

B

The text of the western compartment of the Dehli lát begins :

“In the 27th year of my anointment, I have caused to be promulgated the following religious edict. My devotees in very many hundred thousand souls, having (now) attained unto knowledge ;² I have ordained (the following) fines and punishments for their transgressions.

Prinsep’s half-admitted impression, that these inscriptions

¹ Burnouf renders this opening, “La 26^{ième} année depuis mon sacre j’ai fait écrire cet édit de la loi. Le bonheur dans ce monde et dans l’autre est difficile à obtenir sans un amour extrême pour la loi, sans une extrême attention, sans une extrême obéissance,” etc.—*Lotus*, p. 655.

² Dr. Kern’s translation departs from this meaning in a striking manner, and substitutes : “I have appointed sheriffs over many hundred thousands of souls in the land, I have granted them free power of instituting legal prosecution and inflicting punishment.”

were necessarily of a Buddhist tendency, led him into the awkward mistake of interpreting धात्री *dhātrī* as "the myrobalan tree," instead of "a nurse," and the associate *aswattha* as "the holy fig-tree," in which he was followed by Lassen (Ind. Alt. vol. ii. p. 256), instead of the *asvatha abhīta* "consolés et sans crainte" of Burnouf, who corrected the translation in the following words: "De même qu'un homme, ayant confié son enfant à une nourrice expérimentée, est sans inquiétude [et se dit:] une nourrice expérimentée garde mon enfant, ainsi ai-je institué des officiers royaux pour le bien et le bonheur du pays."—Lotus de la bonne Loi, p. 741.

Prinsep's text here resumes the subject of transgressions, and "according to the measure of the offence shall be the measure of punishment, but (the offender) shall not be put to death by me."¹ "Banishment (shall be) the punishment of those malefactors deserving of imprisonment and execution."

The text proceeds with a very remarkable passage: "Of those who commit murder on the high road, even none, whether of the poor or of the rich, shall be injured on my three especial days."²

If we could rely upon the finality of this translation, we might cite, in favour of the Jaina tendency of the edict, the curious parallel of *the Jainas* under Akbar, who obtained a *Firmán* to a somewhat similar tenor in favour of the life

¹ It is curious to trace the extent to which these Jaina ideas developed themselves in after-times, and to learn from official sources how the simple tenets of mercy, in the abstract, progressed into the demands and rights of *sanctuary* claimed by and conceded to the sect.

"Maharana Śrī Rāj Sing, commanding. To the Nobles, Ministers, Patels, etc., of Mewar. From remote times, the temples and dwellings of the Jainas have been authorized; let none therefore within their boundaries carry animals to slaughter. This is their ancient privilege.

"2. Whatever life, whether man or animal, passes their abode for the purpose of being killed, is saved (*anra*).

"3. Traitors to the state, robbers, felons escaped confinement, who may fly for sanctuary (*śirna*) to the dwellings (*upasra*) of the Yatis, shall not be seized by the servants of the court. . . . By command, Śāh Dyal, Minister. Samvat 1749 (A.D. 1693)." —Tod. vol. i. p. 553.

² Singular to say, with all this excellent mercy to animals, there is a reference to injuring (*torturing*?), and later even to "mutilation" of the human offender! —J.A.S.B. vol. vi. p. 588. See also Foe-koue-ki, cap. xvi.

of animals, and their exemption from slaughter on certain days peculiarly sacred in their *Rubric*.¹

C

The tablet, on the southern compartment, gives a list of the "animals which shall not be put to death," enumerating many species of birds, the specific object of whose immunity it is difficult to comprehend—and especially exempting the females of the goat, sheep, and pig, . . . concluding with the declaration that "animals that prey on life shall not be cherished."

The Edict goes on to specify the days of fasts and ceremonies, closing with the words,

"Furthermore, in the twenty-seventh year of my reign, at this present time, twenty-five prisoners are set at liberty."

D

The Monolithic Inscriptions are continued in the eastern compartment, the text of which Prinsep translated in the following terms :

"Thus spake King DEVĀNAMPIYA PIYADASI: In the twelfth year of my anointment, a religious edict (was) published for the pleasure and profit of the world; having destroyed that (document) and regarding my former religion as sin, I now for the benefit of the world proclaim the fact. And this . . . I therefore cause to be destroyed; and I proclaim the same in all the congregations; while I pray with every variety of prayer for those who differ from me in creed, that they following after my proper example may with me attain unto eternal salvation: wherefore the present

¹ *Firmān* of Akbar. "Be it known to the Muttasuddies of Malwa, that the whole of our desires consists in the performance of good actions, and our virtuous intentions are constantly directed to one object, that of delighting and gaining the hearts of our subjects.

"We, on hearing mention made of persons of any religious faith whatever, who pass their lives in sanctity, etc., . . . shut our eyes on the external forms of their worship, and considering only the intention of their hearts, we feel a powerful inclination to admit them to our association, from a wish to do what may be acceptable to the Deity."

The prayer of the petitioners was: "That the Padishah should issue orders that during the twelve days of the month of Bhadra called Putchooosur (which are held by the Jainas to be particularly holy), no cattle should be slaughtered in the cities where their tribe reside."—Ordered accordingly, 7th Jumād-us-Sāni, 992 Hij. Era.—Malcolm, Central India.

edict of religion is promulgated in this twenty-seventh year of my anointment.”

“Thus spake King Devánampiya Piyadasi. Kings of the olden time have gone to heaven under these very desires. How then among mankind may religion (or growth in grace) be increased, yea through the conversion of the humbly-born shall religion increase. . . . Through the conversion of the lowly-born if religion thus increaseth, by how much (more) through the conviction of the high-born and their conversion shall religion increase.”

Prinsep concludes his version of this division of the Inscription :—

“Thus spake King Devánampiya Piyadasi:—Wherefore from this very hour I have caused religious discourses to be preached, I have appointed religious observances—that mankind having listened thereto shall be brought to follow in the right path and give glory unto God.”

If Dr Kern’s amended reading of the opening paragraphs of this tablet is to be accepted as final, we must abandon any arguments based upon a supposed cancelment of previous manifestos.¹ But the reconstruction in question—whether right or wrong—will not in the least degree affect my main argument of the pervading *Jaina* tendencies of the Monolithic edicts.

Dr. Kern’s translation runs as follows :

“King Devánampiya Priyadarṣin speaks thus:—12 years after my coronation, I caused a righteousness-edict to be written for the benefit and happiness of the public. Every one who leaves that unassailed shall obtain increase of merit in more than one respect. I direct attention to what is useful and pleasant for the public, and take such measures as I think will further happiness, while I provide satisfaction to my nearest relatives and to (my subjects) who are near as well as to them who dwell far off.”

¹ Prof. Wilson, while criticizing and correcting much of Prinsep’s work upon these documents, remarked, “If the translation (of the text of the eastern compartment) is correct, and in substance it seems to be so, there are two sets of opposing doctrines in the inscriptions, and of course both cannot be Buddhist. Mr. Prinsep comes to the conclusion that the Buddhist account of the date of Ašoka’s conversion, the fourth year of his reign, is erroneous, and that he could not have changed his creed until after his twelfth year. Then it follows that most, if not all the Rock inscriptions are not Buddhist, for the only dates specified are the tenth and twelfth years. Those on the Láts appear to be all of the twenty-seventh year. If, however, those of the earlier dates are not Buddhist, neither are those of the later, for there is no essential difference in their purport. They all enforce the preference of moral to ceremonial observances” (J.R.A.S. vol. xii. p. 250).

II. a. THE AIM AND PURPOSE OF THE INSCRIPTIONS.

The Dehli pillar, in addition to the four edicts inclosed within square tablets, has a supplementary inscription encircling the base of the column. In this proclamation Ašoka, after enumerating his own efforts for the good of his people after the truly Indian ideal of planting trees and excavating wells along the high roads, goes on to arrange for the missionary spread of his religion, in these terms :

“Let the priests deeply versed in the faith (or let my doctrines?) penetrate among the multitudes of the rich capable of granting favours, and let them penetrate alike among all the unbelievers whether of ascetics or of householders. . . . Moreover let them for my sake find their way among the bráhmans (*bábhāneshu*) and the most destitute.” . . .

The text proceeds :

“Let these (priests) and others most skilful in the sacred offices penetrate among” . . . “my Queens, and among all my secluded women,” . . . “acting on the heart and on the eyes of the children, . . . for the purpose (of imparting) religious enthusiasm and thorough religious instruction.”

After much more of similar import, the Edict concludes :

“Let stone pillars be prepared, and let this edict of religion be engraven thereon, that it may endure unto the remotest ages.”

*The separate Edicts of the Aswastama Inscription at Dhauli*¹ continue these exhortations in the subjoined terms :

“My desire is that in this very manner, these (ordinances) shall be pronounced aloud by the person appointed to the *stupa*; and adverting to nothing else but precisely according to the commandment of DEVÁNAMPIYA, let him (further) declare and explain them.”² “And this edict is to be read at (the time of) the

¹ “The Aswastama is situated on a rocky eminence forming one of a cluster of hills, three in number, on the south bank of the Dyah river near to the village of Dhauli. The hills alluded to rise abruptly from the plains, . . . and have a singular appearance, no other hills being nearer than eight or ten miles.” —Major Kitter, J.A.S.B. vol. vii. p. 435.

² Burnouf revised this translation, with his usual critical acumen, in 1852. The following quotation gives his varied version :—“Aussi est-ce là ce qui doit être proclamé par le gardien du *stupa* qui ne regardera rien autre chose, (ou bien, aussi cet édit a dû être exprimé au moyen du *Prākṛita* et non dans un autre idiome). Et ainsi veut ici le commandement du roi Chéri des Devas. J'en confie l'exécution au grand ministre. . . .

“Et cet édit doit être entendu au *Nakhata Tisa* (Nakhatra Tichya) et à la fin

lunar mansion Tisa, at the end of the month of *Bhātun*: it is to be made heard (even if) by a single listener. And thus (has been founded) the Kālanta *stupa* for the spiritual instruction of the congregation.¹ For this reason is this edict here inscribed, whereby the inhabitants of the town may be guided in their devotions for ages to come.”—J.A.S. Bengal, May, 1837, pp. 444–5.

PERIOD III. POSITIVE BUDDHISM.

THE BHABRA EDICT.²

Professor Wilson’s translation of the Bhabra Edict—unlike his previous renderings of Aṣoka’s rock inscriptions, where he was at the mercy of succeeding commentators—was undertaken at a time when he, in his turn, had the advantage of the revised interpretations of Lassen and Burnouf. It may be taken, therefore, as a crucial trial of strength on his part.

But the most curious coincidence in connexion with the present inquiry is that, in default of critical Sanskrit aids, he was obliged to have recourse to the vulgar tongue of the *Jaina* Scriptures for an explanation of the obscure opening terms, in the word *bhante* “I declare, confess,” etc., etc., which proved, to his surprise, to constitute the ordinary *Jaina* preliminary form of prayer or conventional declaration of faith.³

I prefix Burnouf’s translation, as exhibiting the inevitable divergences in the individual treatment of these obscure writings :

du mois Tisa (4 letters) au *Nakhata*, même par un seule personne il doit être entendu. Et c’est ainsi que ce *stūpa* doit être honoré jusqu’à la fin des temps, pour le bien de l’assemblée.”—Burnouf, B. L. 673.

See also my article in the J.R.A.S. Vol. I. n.s. p. 466; and the Kalpa Sūtra, pp. 16, 17.

¹ As a possible commentary upon this, the avowedly Buddhist *Lalita-Vistara* says: “The rehearsal of religious discourse satiateth not the godly.”—Preface, p. 24, Sanskrit Version, Rajendralāla.

² At Bairath, three marches N.E. of Jaipur.

³ “But in turning over the leaves of a *Jaina* work (the *Parikramanavidhi*), which, according to Dr. Stevenson, means the Rules of Confession to a Guru, I found the word *Bhante* . . . repeated fourteen times, and in every instance with the pronoun *aham*—*aham bhante*—preceding apparently some promise or admission; ‘I declare, I promise, or acknowledge.’ The book is written in the Māgadhī of the Jainas, mixed with provincial Hindi, and is full of technicalities, which it would require a learned *Yati* to expound.”—J.R.A.S., Vol. XVI. p. 361.

“Le roi Piyadasa, à l’Assemblée du Magadha qu’il fait saluer, a souhaité et peu de peines et une existence agréable. Il est bien connu, seigneurs, jusqu’où vont et mon respect et ma foi pour le Buddha, pour la Loi, pour l’Assemblée. Tout ce qui, seigneurs, a été dit par le bienheureux Buddha, tout cela seulement est bien dit. Il faut donc montrer, seigneurs, quelles [en] sont les autorités ; de cette manière, la bonne loi sera de longue durée : voilà ce que moi je crois nécessaire. En attendant, voici, seigneurs, les sujets qu’embrasse la loi : les bornes marquées par la *Vinaya* (ou la discipline), les facultés surnaturelles des Ariyas, les dangers de l’avenir, les stances du solitaire, le *Sūta* (*sūtra*) du solitaire, la spéculation d’Upatisa (Çariputtra) seulement, l’instruction de Lāgula (Rāhula), en rejetant les doctrines fausses : [voilà] ce qui a été dit par le bienheureux (Buddha). Ces sujets qu’embrasse la loi, seigneurs, je désire, et c’est la gloire à laquelle je tiens le plus, que les Religieux et les Religieuses les écoutent et les méditent constamment, aussi bien que les fidèles des deux sexes. C’est pour cela, seigneurs, que je [vous] fais écrire ceci ; telle est ma volonté et ma déclaration.”—Lotus, p. 725.

Prof. Wilson’s translation is as follows :

“Piyadasi, the King, to the general Assembly of Māgadha, commands the infliction of little pain and indulgence to animals.

“It is verily known, I proclaim, to what extent my respect and favour (are placed) in Buddha, and in the Law, and in the Assembly.

“Whatsoever (words) have been spoken by the divine Buddha, they have all been well said, and in them, verily I declare that capability of proof is to be discerned : so that the pure law (which they teach) will be of long duration, as far as I am worthy (of being obeyed). For these, I declare, are the principal discipline (*Vinaya*), having overcome the oppressions of the Aryas, and future perils, (and refuted) the songs of the Munis, the *sūtras* of the Munis, (the practices) of inferior ascetics, the censure of a light world, and (all) false doctrines. These things, as declared by the divine Buddha, I proclaim, and I desire them to be regarded as the precepts of the Law. . . . These things I affirm, and have caused to be written (to make known to you) that such will be my intention.”—Journ. R.A.S. Vol. XVI. (1851), p. 357. See also Translation, Journ. A.S. Bengal, vol. ix.

I subjoin Dr. Kern’s newly-published translation, for the double purpose of comparison with the redactions of his predecessors, and to satisfy the modern world, that whatever

the associate *Piyadasane*, "lovely to behold." "Siddhārtha" is represented in the text of the Kalpa Sūtra, as "issued forth the king and lord of men, the bull and lion among men, lovely to behold," etc. Dr. Stevenson adds, in a note: "This is the famous epithet *पियद्सणे* *Piyadasane* that occurs so frequently in the ancient inscriptions, and which we have met with several times before." *Piyadassi* is further given as the name of one of the 24 (*Jaina*?) Buddhos in the opening passage of the *Mahāvanso*.¹ Mr. Turnour contributes the following additional quotation from the Pāli annals: "Hereafter the prince *Piyadāso*, having raised the *chhatta*, will assume the title of AŚOKO the Dhanma Rāja, or righteous monarch."²

Thus, while we can comprehend that the retention of the simple title of "Pyadasi," by an avowed Buddhist, was harmless enough, the rejection of the designation of "Beloved of the gods" became a clear necessity for any convert to a religion which *ipso facto* repudiated all gods.

The title of *Devānampiya* does not seem to have been admitted into the scriptures of the Northern Buddhists,³ who were deferred converts; but it was carried down with the earliest spread of the faith to Ceylon, in B.C. 246, by "Devānampiya Tissā,"⁴ together with, as we have seen, many of the other elements and symbols of the *Jaina* creed.

Amid the varied indirect sources of information bearing upon the "faith of the Mauryas," now available, we should scarcely have looked for any contributions from the formal

hārtha, in explaining *Trisalā's* dream, commences, "O beloved of the gods." At pp. 56, 61, speaking to the royal messengers, he addresses them as "O beloved of the gods," and at p. 64 the "interpreters of dreams" are received with the same complimentary greeting.

¹ *Mahāvanso*, vol. i. p. 75.

² *J.A.S. Bengal*, vol. vi. p. 1056. See also *Wilson*, *J.R.A.S.* Vol. XII. p. 244.

³ The objection to the term *Devānampiya* of course does not extend to the inevitable *Devaputra* of the *Lalita-vistara*—the "heaven-born" need not have been compromised by his later apostacy.—See *Rajendra Lāla's* (*Sanskrit text*), *Preface*, pp. 14, 15, 21, etc.

⁴ *Mahāvanso*, pp. 4, 68, 62, etc. *Indian Antiquary*, 1872, p. 139. *Rhys Davids*, *Inscription of Gamini Tissa*, son of *Devānampiya Tissa*, at *Dambula*, Ceylon.

pages of dictionaries or grammars. Nevertheless, amid the odd words cited, for other purposes, we discover, in Patanjali's commentary on the *Sūtras* of Pāṇini, a most suggestive record by the annotator, who is supposed to date somewhere about B.C. 160–60,¹ regarding the gods of the Mauryas. Prof. Goldstücker's translation of Pāṇini's leading text, with the illustration added by Patanjali, is subjoined :

“ ‘If a thing,’ says *Pāṇini*, ‘serves for a livelihood, but is not for sale’ (it has the affix *kà*). This rule *Patanjali* illustrates with the words ‘*Śiva, Skanda, Viśákha,*’ meaning the idols that represent these divinities, and at the same time give a living to the men who possess them—while they are not for sale. And ‘why?’ he asks. ‘The *Mauryas* wanted gold, and therefore established religious festivities.’ Good; (Pāṇini's rule) may apply to such (idols as *they* sold); but as to idols, which are hawked about (by common people) for the sake of such worship as brings an immediate profit, their names will have the affix *ka*.”²

That there are many difficulties in the translation, and still more in the practical interpretation of this passage, need not be reiterated.³ The first impression the context conveys

¹ This is Prof. Weber's date; Prof. Goldstücker assigned Patanjali to 140–120 B.C.; and Prof. Bhandarkar fixes the date of his chapter iii. at 144–142 B.C.—*Ind. Ant.* 1872, p. 302.

² Goldstücker's Pāṇini, p. 228. Prof. Goldstücker goes on to add: “Whether or not this interesting bit of history was given by Patanjali ironically, to show that even affixes are the obedient servants of kings, and must vanish before the idols which *they* sell, because they do not take the money at the same time that the bargain is made—as poor people do—I know not. . . . I believe, too, if we are to give a natural interpretation to his (Patanjali's) words, . . . that he lived *after the last king* of this (Maurya) dynasty.”—p. 229.

Prof. Weber's critical commentary upon Goldstücker's rendering of this passage, amid other argumentative questions as to the period of Pāṇini himself, proceeds :

“Patanjali, in commenting on rule v. 3, 99, of Pāṇini, . . . in the case of a life sustenance-serving (object, which is an image, the affix *ka* is *not* used), except when the object is valuable. . . . In the case of a saleable, *e.g.* *Śiva, Skanda, Viśákha*, the rule does not apply.” . . .

“The gold-coveting *Maurya* had caused images of the gods to be prepared. To these the rule does not apply, but only to such as serve for immediate worship (*i.e.* with which their possessors go about from house to house) [in order to exhibit them for immediate worship, and thereby to earn money].”—*Indian Antiquary*, 1873, p. 61.

³ Prof. Weber's opinion on the bearing of this passage is to the following effect: “In the passage about the Mauryas I must leave it to others to decide if Patanjali's words do really imply it as his opinion that Pāṇini himself, in referring to images that were saleable, had in his eye such as those that had come down from the Mauryas. I never said more than this. And Bhāṇḍarkar goes too far when he says: ‘Prof. Weber *infers* that Pāṇini in making his rule *had* in his eye,’ etc. My words are: ‘According to the view of Patanjali;’ ‘Patanjali is undoubtedly of

seems to refer to the multitudinous images of the *Jaina* Mauryas, which were so easily reproduced in their absolute repetitive identity, and so largely distributed as part and parcel of the creed itself, of which we have had so many practical exemplifications in the preceding pages.¹ But Patanjali's direct reference to the Maurya gods of his day—that is to say, during the reign of that staunch adherent of the Brahmans, the *Suīga Pushpamitra*²—under the definite names of *Śiva*, *Skanda*, *Viśákha*, opens out a new line of inquiry as to the concurrent state and progress of Brahmanism, and his evidence undoubtedly indicates that their branch of the local religion was in a very crude and inchoate stage at the period referred to—an inference which is more fully confirmed by the testimony of numismatic remains.³

Among the extant examples of the mintages of Hushka, Jushka, and Kanishka, we meet with the self-same designations of the three Brahmanical gods, under the counterpart Greek transcription of ΟΚΡΟ, ΣΚΑΝΔΟ, and ΒΙΖΑΓΟ. The only

opinion; 'Be this as it may, the notice is in itself an exceedingly curious one.' Now with regard to this very curious and odd statement itself, I venture to throw it out as a mere suggestion, whether it may not perhaps refer to a *first* attempt at gold coinage made by the Mauryas (in imitation of the Greek coins). It is true no Maurya coin has been discovered as yet, so far as I know, but this may be mere chance: the real difficulty is how to bring Patañjali's words into harmony with such an interpretation, the more so as in *his* time no doubt gold coins were already rather common"—*Indian Antiquary*, July, 1873, pp. 208, 209.

¹ "As these twenty-four Tirthankaras are incarnations of wisdom, and are divine personages who appeared in the world and attained the enjoyment of heavenly bliss, the Jainas consider them to be *Svāmīs*, equal to the divinely-natured *Arugan*. . . . And accordingly they build temples in honour of these Tirthankaras, and make images like them, of stone, wood, gold, and precious gems, and considering these idols as the god *Arugan* himself, they perform daily and special *pūjas*, and observe fasts and celebrate festivals in their honour."—p. xix. Notice on Jainism, by Śāstram Aiyar, from "The Chintāmaṇi," edited by the Rev. H. Bower, Madras, 1868.

² Pushpamitra is the king who offered 100 *dīnārs* for the head of every *Śramana*, and hence obtained the title of *Munihata*, "Muni-killer."—Burnouf, vol. i. p. 431.

³ I must add that in other portions of the "Mahābhāshya" reference is made to "the Brahmanical deities of the Epic period, Śiva, Viṣṇu, etc.; to Vāsudeva or Kriṣṇa as a god or demi-god, and to his having slain Kānsa and bound Bali." Mr. Muir, from whose analysis of Prof. Weber's *Indische Studien* (1873) I take this information, adds: "The genuineness of the whole of Patanjali's work itself, as we now have it, is not, Prof. Weber considers, beyond the reach of doubt, as some grounds exist for supposing that the work, after having been mutilated or corrupted, was subsequently reconstructed, and at the same time perhaps received various additions from the pen of the compiler." See also *Academy*, 8th August, 1874, p. 156.

other Brahmanical gods that apparently attained any prominence, at the epoch of these three Indo-Scythian kings, which, for the moment, we may accept as at or about the commencement of our era, would seem to have been Śiva's supposed consort, ΑΡΔΟΧΡΟ, and *Mahāsenā*, which latter embodiment is elsewhere understood as a mere counterpart of Śiva.¹ In the same manner, *Skanda* constitutes the title of a "son of Śiva," and *Viṣākha* is the conventional name of *Kārttikeya* or *Skanda*, "the god of war," and finally, *Kumāra* is simply a synonym of *Skanda*. In fact we have here nothing but the multiform *Śiva* personally, or the various members of his family. So that the combined testimony of the grammarian and the material proofs exhibited by the coins would almost necessitate the conclusion that, at the commencement of our era, *Brahmanism* had not yet emerged from *Śaivism*, whose Indian origin is now freely admitted by the leading authorities.

In testing the position of Saivism, at approximate periods, we are able to appeal to the independent testimony of the coins of a collateral division of the Indo-Scythic race, whose leading designation follows the term of ΟΟΗΜΟ ΚΑΔΦΙΧΗ.

It has hitherto been usual to place this branch of the Scythic intruders considerably earlier, in point of time, than their fellow and more permanently-domiciled brotherhood; but the question as it is presented, under later lights, seems to resolve itself into a geographical rather than an epochal severance. The Kadphises *horde* settled themselves in lands where the Bactrian Pāli alphabet and quasi-Aryan speech were still current. The Kanerki group, wherever their first Indian location may have been, clearly followed Irānian traditions in the classification and designations of their adopted gods, in the regions of their abundant mintages.

The Kadphises forms of Saivism may be followed in detail in Plate X. of Prof. Wilson's *Ariana Antiqua*. The

¹ *Mahā-senā*, "a great army," an epithet of *Kārttikeya* or *Skanda*; of *Śiva*. So also *Senāpati*, "army chief," name of *Kārttikeya*; of *Śiva*, etc.—M. Williams, in *vocibus*.

conjoint legends appertaining to which are couched in the following terms :

Latin-Greek—ΒΑΚΤΡΙΑΕΥΣ ΟΟΗΜΟ ΚΑΔΦΙΟΙΟ.

Bactrian-Pali—

Maharajasa Rajadhirajasa Sarva-loka-iṣwarasa Mahiṣwarasa Kapiṣasa.

Of the Great King, King of Kings, ruler of the whole world, the Great Lord (of) Kapisa.¹

We have here, again, *Śiva* very much under the guise of a God of War (Nos. 9, 13), though the trident is suggestive of Neptune and the ill-defined drooping garment, in the left hand, is reminiscent of the lion's skin of Hercules. But the Saivism is complete in No. 5, even to the spiral shell-shaped hair² (less apparent in No. 13), with the conventional VĀHANA or Bull, which now becomes constant and immutable; following on in Nos. 12–21 the leading type exhibits various gradations of the gross hermaphrodite outline of half man, half woman, with "the necklace of skulls," possibly disclosing the first definite introduction to *caste* threads, out of which so many religious conflicts grew in later days.

Under any circumstances, the present coincidences must be accepted as beyond measure, critical, when we find Patanjali, a native of Oudh, speaking of things on the banks of the Soane, at Patna, and Scythian intruders on the Kábul river, responding in practical terms, as to the ruling *Saivism* which covered, with so little change, a range of country represented in the divergent paths of a continuous highway, starting from the extreme geographical points here named.

For the purposes of the illustration of the international associations, and the accepted religions of the period, we are beyond measure indebted to the recent numismatic contributions of the Pesháwar find. These coins, comprising the large total of 524 gold pieces, all belong to the combined Kanishka brotherhood, or tribal communities, to which reference has been made in my previous article in the Journal,³ and in

¹ Prinsep's Essays, vol. ii. p. 213. *Ariana Antiqua*, p. 354. *J.R.A.S.* Vol. XX. p. 239. Solinus tells us: *Quidam libri Caphusam. In alii: Caphisam. Plinius Capissam vocat. cap. liv. p. 827.*

² Rudra and Pushan are said to wear their hair wound or braided spirally upwards into the form of a shell called "Kapardin."—Muir, vol. v. p. 462.

³ *Journal Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. IX. p. 8 *et seq.*

the earlier pages of this paper. The triple series of *obverse* legends are restricted to the following repetitive Greek transcriptions :

GREEK LEGENDS ON THE KANERKI COINS.

1. PAO NANO PAO KANHPKI KOPANO.
2. PAO NANO PAO OOHPKI KOPANO.
3. PAO NANO PAO BAZOΔHO KOPANO.

These titles seem to have been more or less sectional and eventually to have become hereditary, like Arsaces, Cæsar, etc., and though probably applicable in the first instance severally to the three brothers, they appear, in process of time, to have become dynastic as the conventional titular designation of the head of the family or tribe, for the time being, and to have continued in imitative use, especially in the instance of ΒΑΖΟΔΗΟ,¹ for many centuries. Until, indeed, as I have previously remarked, the Greek characters become altogether unintelligible,² though the mint types are still mechanically reproduced.

I have now to describe, as briefly as the subject will admit of, the coins I have selected for insertion in the accompanying Plate II., which were primarily arranged to illustrate the objects of worship admitted into the Indo-Scythian Pantheon ; but, which, under subsequent discoveries, have assumed a more important mission in the general range of inquiry.

CONTENTS OF PLATE II.

KANERKI.

No. 1. (*Obverse*. King standing to the front, in the conventional form represented in *Ariana Antiqua*, pl. xi. fig. 16, *worn die*.)

Legend. Constant. PAO NANO PAO KANHPKI KOPANO.)

Reverse. Figure as in the Plate. *Legend* NANA PAO, *Nanaia*.

¹ The identity of Bazdeo as one of the three brothers, and as the person alluded to in the Mathurá inscriptions under the title of *Vásudeva*, in conjunction with *Kanishka* and *Huwishka*, seems to be now placed beyond doubt ; but the new coins teach us to discriminate Bazdeo as the third king, in opposition to my suggestion (*Vol. IX. p. 11, supra*) that *Vásudeva* might have been "the titular designation of Kanishka."

² Prinsep's *Essays*, pl. xxii. 4, 5, 6-11, 13. *J.R.A.S. o.s. Vol. XII. Pl. IV.* the same figures. *Ariana Antiqua*, pl. xiv. figs. 12, 13, 16, 17.



INDO-SCYTHIAN COINS.

of Mars holds what is described, in the *Trésor de Numismatique*, as “un bouclier rond,” a type which occurs on the money of Germanicus, A.U.C. 801, A.D. 47 (Pl. xix. 7, 8).

Legend. ΡΑΟ ΡΗΘΡΟ (Rao-rethro), *Mars*.

No. 9. (*Obverse.* Bust of King, as in No. 7.)

Reverse. Figure as in the Plate.

Legend. ΟΑΝΙΝΔΑ (Oaninda), *Anandates*.

No. 10. (*Obverse.* Bust as in No. 3. No flame on shoulder, *Sassanian* fillets.)

Reverse. As in the Plate. *Legend.* ΜΑΑΣΗΝΟ (Mahásená), an Indian form of *Mars*? *Siva*?

No. 11. (*Obverse.* Bust as in No. 3.)

Reverse. Device as in the Plate. *Legends.* ΣΚΑΝΔΟ, ΚΟΜΑΡΟ, ΒΙΖΑΓΟ; *Skanda, Kumára, Viṣákha*.

No. 12. (*Obverse.* Bust of King, with ornamental jacket, armlets, mace, spear, flames on shoulders, etc. Peaked cap as in A.A. xiv. 5, but with bossed cheek-plates.)

Reverse. Device as in the Plate. *Legend.* ΑΘΡΟ, *Zend A'tars* (the Roman Vulcan).

No. 13. (*Obverse.* Bust of King as in No. 8.)

Reverse. Device as in the Plate; exhibiting a three-faced Indian form of *Śiva* wearing short drawers (*jāṅghiyá*), in front of which appears, for the first time, a marked definition of the *Priapus*, which however has nothing in common with the local *Linga*. The left hands hold the trident and an Indian thunderbolt. The one right hand grasps the wheel or *chakra* (the symbol of universal dominion), the other is extended to the small goat.

Legend. ΟΚΡΟ. *Ugra* the “fierce” (a title of *Śiva*).

No. 14. *Obverse.* As exhibited in the Plate. The King wears a Roman *pallium*; ornamental cap with cheek-plates and well-defined *Sassanian* fillets; in the right hand the small iron-bound mace,¹ in the left a standard, surmounted by *Śiva's Váhana* or the bull *Nandi*, in the conventional recumbent position.

¹ General Cunningham was under the impression that this object was a Buddhist praying-wheel. I prefer to look upon it as an iron-bound mace, a counterpart of the modern club, so effective in strong hands, known by the name of *lohá-band láthi*. The *gurz* of Feridún was an historical weapon. The use of which was affected by the great Mahmúd of Ghazni and his successors after him. The Kadphises Scythians also were demonstrative about maces, but theirs took the form of a bulky wooden club. See also Tabari (O.T.F.), vol. ii. p. 228.

Legend, legible. ρΑΟ ΝΑΝΟ ΡΑΟ Οηρικι κορανο.

Reverse. Śiva, three-faced, four-armed, to the front, holding the trident, a club, a western form of the thunderbolt and a *gourd*, water-vessel?

Legend. ΟΚΡΑ, Zend *ugra*, अग्र *Ugra*, the "fierce," "terrible."

No. 15. (*Obverse*. King's bust as in No. 8.)

Reverse. Roman figure, as in the plate, holding a brazier with ascending flames. *Legend*. ΦΑΡΡΟ, Pharos. There are several varieties of this type: in one instance the figure holds a *simpulum*, such as is seen on the coins of Antonia Augusta, A.D. 37.—Trésor de Numismatique, pl. x. fig. 14.

No. 16. *Obverse*. King's bust as in the Plate. Ornamental jacket, armlets, mace and spear; with a curious peaked helmet having buffalo horns diverging upwards from below the frontlet, as is seen in certain Indo-Sassanian coins of a later age;¹ flowing fillets at the back, with *Sassanian* fillets distributed over each shoulder.

Reverse. A Roman type of abundance. *Legend*. ΑΡΔΟΧΡΟ. The cornucopiæ and the style of dress belong to the period of Julius Cæsar and the early days of Augustus, A.U.C. 711, 33 B.C.—Trésor de Numismatique, pl. iii. fig. 1.

No. 17. (*Obverse*. Kadphises type of King's bust, with mace and *ankus*, Sassanian fillets.)

Reverse. Four-armed figure, as in the Plate. *Legend*. ΜΑΝΑΟ ΒΑΓΟ, the *Moon-god*.

No. 18. (*Obverse*. Kadphises bust; silken garment, mace, *ankus*, etc., flame on right shoulder, ordinary fillets.)

Reverse. Male figure, as in the Plate. *Legend*. ΜΑΟ, *Mao*, the Moon.

No. 19. (*Obverse*. King's bust as in A.A. xiv. 3; highly ornamental robe and collar, Sassanian fillets, etc.)

Reverse. Figure as in the Plate, with sword and staff, holding out a chaplet. *Legend*. ΜΑΟ, the Moon.

No. 20. (*Obverse*. King's bust, with Roman pallium, peaked cap, and Sassanian fillets.)

Reverse. Female figure with Caduceus, as in the Plate.

Legend. ΝΑΝΟ, *Nanaia*.

¹ See Prinsep, *Essays*, vol. ii. p. 115; *Ariana Antiqua*, pl. xvii. 5, etc.; Herodotus, vii. c. lxxvi.

No. 21. (*Obverse*. Juvenile bust of the King, with silken garment, mace, *ankus*, with a close-fitting compact helmet and Sassanian fillets.)

Reverse. Rayed figure, with flowing garments, as in the Plate.

Legend. ΜΙΘΡΟ, *Mithra*.

No. 22. (*Obverse*. Old form of bust of the King, Kadphises style.)

Reverse. Figure as in the Plate. *Legend*. ΜΙΗΡΟ, *Mihira*.

No. 23. (*Obverse*. Well-executed profile, but less-finished bust, of the King; wearing the Roman *pallium*, with mace, spear, peaked cap, prominent frontlet, bold *halo*, bossed cheek-plates with flowing fillets of the ordinary character, associated with the Sassanian drooping falls on the back of the left shoulder, flame on the right shoulder.)

Reverse. Figure, also clothed in the *pallium*, as seen in the Plate.

The type of the reverse follows, in a measure, the earlier examples of ΗΛΙΟΣ (A. A. xi. 16) and ΜΙΗΡΟ (A. A. xii. 15), and it has something in common with the beautiful reverse of No. 21 of our Plate II. Legend of "undetermined" import ΑΡΑΕΙΧΡΟ.

ΒΑΖΔΗΟ.

No. 24. (*Obverse*. King *standing* to the front, in full Scythian cap-à-pied armour, with sword, spear, high pointed cap, reduced halo, falling fillets, with large Mithraic altar, into which the right hand of the King seems to be casting votive incense, as in A. A. xiv. 18.

Legend, constant. ΡΑΟ ΝΑΝΟ ΡΑΟ ΒΑΖΔΗΟ ΚΟΡΑΝΟ.)

Reverse. Figure as exhibited in the Plate. *Šiva trīmukhi*, to the front, with top-knot, holding trident and noose (*paṣu*), clad in the Indian *dhoti*, naked above the waist.

Legend. Reversed-Greek ? ΟΚΡΟ.

No. 25. (*Obverse*. Full-length figure of the King, in bossed and armour fished skirt (as in A. A. xiv. 14).

Reverse. Figure as shown in the Plate. *Šiva*, single-faced, with top-knot, and bushy hair, clothed in the Indian *dhoti*, bold muscular development of the chest, trident, noose (*paṣu*), well-defined Bráhmaṇí bull, monogram, etc. *Legend*. ΟΚΡΟ.

No. 26. (*Obverse*. Standing figure of the King, the bosses of the body-armour appear in full detail, the fish-scale skirt is also given, as are the greaves and the rings, or serpent-like protection of the arms. The spear is here a subdued trident, with a bold central point and reduced side spikes; but the

peculiarity of the whole device, in this instance, consists in the tall Kuzzalbásh-like cap, which is surmounted by the head of a bird.

Reverse. Śiva *trimukhi*, as reproduced in the Plate, with his bull in a varied position. The god, in addition to ordinary trident and noose, reveals a subdued but fully defined priapus in front of the folds of the *dhoti*, together with the first determinate representation of a Brahmanical or *caste* thread, which replaces the early necklace of skulls adverted to at p. 211.

One of the most important revelations of the Pesháwar *find* is the large amount of Roman influence to be detected amid the types of these Indo-Scythian coinages.

The earliest archæological trace of commercial or other intercourse between India and Rome is represented by the celebrated deposit in a tumulus at Manikyála, discovered by M. A. Court in 1833.

M. Court's description of the position and condition of the crypt is as follows :

"At ten feet from the level of the ground, we met with a cell in the form of a rectangular parallelogram, built in a solid manner, with well-dressed stones, firmly united with mortar. The four sides of the cell corresponded with the four cardinal points, and it was covered with a single massive stone. Having turned this over, I perceived that it was covered with inscriptions. In the centre of the cell stood a copper urn, encircling which were placed symmetrically eight medals of the same metal. . . . The urn itself was carefully enveloped in a wrapper of white linen tightly adhering to its surface. . . . The copper urn enclosed a smaller one of silver; the space between them being filled in with a paste of the colour of raw umber. . . . Within the silver urn was found one much smaller of gold, immersed in the same brown paste, in which were also contained seven silver medals, with Latin characters.¹ The gold vessel

¹ 1. No. 19. pl. xxxiv. J.A.S. Bengal, vol. iii. A silver denarius of Mark Antony, struck while he was a member of the celebrated triumvirate; M. ANTONIUS. iii. VIR. R.P.C.—Vaillant, ii. p. 9. Riccio, pl. iv. 25. J. des Sav. 1836, p. 72 (A.U.C. 711).

2. No. 20. Julius Cæsar. Julia family, Riccio, xxiii. 31. R. Rochette. A.U.C. 694-704, "si connu et si commun."

3. No. 21. Cordia family. Ric. xiv. 1. R.R. A.U.C. 705. "Un denier d'Auguste, avec les têtes accouplées de Cæius et de Lucius Cæsars."

4. No. 22. Minucia family. Riccio, xxxiii. 7. Q. THERM. M.F. about A.U.C. 680.

enclosed four small coins of gold of the Græco-Scythic type¹ . . ; also two precious stones and four pearls.”

With a view to determine the age of the monument itself from external evidence, M. Raoul Rochette critically examined the Roman coins found in the inner coating of the main deposit. The result of his exhaustive study is subjoined in his own words :

“Maintenant, ce qui résulte de la réunion de ces sept monnaies de familles romaines, six desquelles sont reconnues avec certitude, et qui furent toutes frappées dans le cours des années 680 à 720 de Rome ; ce qui résulte, non-seulement de la présence de ces sept monnaies, appartenant toutes aux derniers temps de la république, et de l'absence de monnaies consulaires ou impériales, c'est que le monument où on les avait déposées à dessein, appartient lui-même à la période de temps qui est celle de l'émission et de la circulation de ces monnaies ; car le fait qu'on n'y a trouvé mêlé parmi elles ni un seul denier consulaire, ni un seul denier impérial, est certainement très-significatif ; et ce ne peut être, à mon avis, une circonstance purement fortuite ou accidentelle qui ait réuni ainsi, dans un monument considérable, sept monnaies choisies entre toutes celles que le commerce avait portées dans l'Inde, et toutes frappées dans la période républicaine des guerres civiles, qui eurent principalement l'Orient pour théâtre.”—*Journ. des Savants*, 1836, p. 74.

At one time it was fondly hoped that this monument might prove to have been the last resting-place of the ashes of Kanishka himself, but the inscription on the inverted slab effectually disposed of any such notion.² The covering stone of the crypt mentions *Samvat* 18, and the Mathurá inscriptions extend his reign to *Samvat* 33. The discovery, however, is of the highest importance under other aspects. It has been usual to associate Kanishka's name with Buddhism, and in

5. No. 23. Accoleia family. LARISCOLVS, i. 1. A.U.C. 710-720.

6. No. 24. Julia family. Ric. xxii. 4.

7. No. 25. Furia family. R. xxi. 8. R.R. A.U.C. 686. The latest authorities, therefore, limit the date of the most recent of these coins to B.C. 34. Prinsep's *Essays*, vol. i. p. 149.

¹ Four “gold coins found in the gold cylinder.” Pl. xxxiv. vol. iii. J.A.S. Bengal.

1 and 2. Kanerki bust and peaked cap. *Rev.* Śiva, four-armed and OKPO.

3. Kanerki standing figure. *Rev.* Śiva, four-armed and OKPO.

4. Kanerki standing figure. *Rev.* Standing figure. AΘPO.

² Prof. Dowson, J.R.A.S. Vol. XX. o.s. p. 250.

his reign a new convocation of the Buddhists was convened, once again to revise and determine the authorized faith. If Kanishka ever was a Buddhist, he, like Aṣoka, must have become so late in life. His coins, as we have seen, are eminently Saiva, and this monument, erected during his reign, contained, within the gold cylinder in the innermost recess of its undisturbed chamber, no less than three coins bearing the image of Śiva, out of the four, selected for inhumation with the ashes of the person, in whose honour it was built. Moreover, so distinctly was the ruling Śaivism accepted in India, that we find the coins of NANA PAO conventionally denominated *Nānakas* (and elsewhere defined as bearing the mark of Śiva) in the authoritative text of Yajñavalkya's Hindu Law.¹ On the other hand, Indo-Scythic Buddhism is undemonstrative in the extreme, and one of the coins most relied upon to prove devotion to that faith² turns out, under the legends of the better specimens of the Pesháwar find, to bear the name of ΑΡΑΕΙΧΡΟ (No. 23, Pl. II.), whereas those coins which bear the unmistakable figure of Śákya Muni—as I shall show hereafter—clearly belong to a later period of the Kanerki series.

Under the system in vogue, in more advanced Buddhistic days, of the gradual enlargement of Topes and the concurrent exhibition of relics, which for convenience sake were placed near the summit of the mound, we find a later deposit three feet only from the top of this smaller Manikyála *tope*, which consisted of three coins bearing the form and name of Śiva, and one coin only with the image and superscription of ΟΑΔΟ, the Wind.³

¹ Yajñavalkya's date is uncertain. Some commentators place him before Vikramāditya, others so late as the second century A.D. See my *Ancient Indian Weights*, p. 20. Prof. Wilson remarks that the name of **णाणक** *nāṇaka* occurs in the play of the *Mricchhakatika* (act i. scene 1), and the commentary explains the *nāṇaka* as **शिवाङ्कटङ्क** *Śivāṅka-taṅka*, or "coin with the mark of Śiva."

² General Cunningham, *J.A.S. Bengal*, 1845, p. 435, pl. ii. fig. 3.

³ The four copper coins found above the stone cover of the tumulus, pl. xxxiv. vol. iii. *J.A.S. Bengal*, are identified with—

1. Kadphises, the King, standing. *Rev.* Śiva and Nandi, with Bactrian-Pāli legends similar to A.A. Plate x. figs. 15, etc.

2. Coin of Kanerki, with *Rev.* ΟΑΔΟ.

3 and 4. Coin of Kanerki, with *Rev.* Śiva four-armed, OKPO.

We have now to seek to discover, from the numismatic remains,—which constitute the only positive data left us,—how it came to pass, that so many of the elements of Western forms of worship and classic Roman devices found their way into such a specially-dissevered section of the earth, as that which bowed to Indo-Scythian sway at and shortly before the commencement of our era.

The first and most obvious suggestion would point to ordinary commercial intercourse, the superior value of Indian produce, and the consequent import of Roman gold for the requisite balance of trade, about which Pliny was so eloquent.

But in this case we are forced to admit some more direct and abiding influence. If the Roman gold had been suffered to remain intact in the shape it was received, as mere bullion, which sufficed for the traffic of the Western coast, we should have gained no aid or instruction in the explanation of the present difficulty.

But, fortunately, the recoinage of the original Roman aurei *in situ*, at whatever exact point it may ultimately be placed, must clearly be limited to a region, far removed from the inspiring centre, and separated by some natural belt of desert or hostile territory from free intercourse with old associations, or home relations.

In the Parthian dominions, which intervened between the extreme points indicated, there existed precisely such barriers: and excepting the perseverance with which their kings retained the eagles of Crassus, there was no notion of recognition or adoption of Roman devices by the Parthian monarchs till the Italian slave Mousa got her image placed on the Arsacidan mintages.

Whereas, among the distant communities in the far East, we discover consecutive imitations of Roman types, extending over a considerable space of time, and following irregularly the latest novelties and innovations of the Imperial mints; but always appearing in independent forms, as reproductions, with newly-engraved dies of inferior execution, but with Latin-Greek legends embodying Zend denominations; and, more distinctive still, uniformly accepting either

the already-prepared *obverses* of the Indo-Scythian kings, or reviving their semblance from time to time in apparent recognition of the suzerain power.



The enigma above outlined seems to me to be susceptible of but one solution, which singularly accords with the given circumstances of time and place—that is, that the 10,000 captives of the army of Crassus,¹ who were transported to Merv-ul-rúd, on the extreme border of the Parthian dominions,² a site intentionally most remote from their ancestral homes, finding even that fertile valley, that pleasant Siberia, unprepared to accommodate so large and so sudden an influx of population, spread and extended themselves into the proximate dominions of the Indo-Scythians,³ and freely ac-

¹ Plutarch in Crassus xxxi.—*Λέγονται δ' οἱ πάντες δισμύριοι μὲν ἀποθανεῖν, μύριοι δὲ ἄλλωναι ζῶντες.* Repeated in Appian Parth., p. 66.

² Pliny, N. H. vi. xvi. 18.—“*Sequitur regio Margiane, apricitalis inclytæ, sola in eo tractu vitifera, undique inclusa montibus amœnis . . . et ipsa contra Parthiæ tractum sita: in qua Alexander Alexandriam condiderat. Qua diruta a barbaris, Antiochus Seleuci filius, eodem loco restituit Syriam; nam interfluente Margo, qui corrivatur in Zotale, is maluerat illam Antiochiam appellari. Urbis amplitudo circumitur circuitu stadiis lxx; in hanc Orodes Romanos Crassiana clade captos deduxit.*”

The references in Vell. Patereulus ii. 82, and Florus iv. 10, only go to show how mercifully the captives were treated, inasmuch as they were freely allowed to serve in the Parthian ranks. Justin, xlii. cap. v. affirms that the prisoners of both the armies of Crassus and Antony were collected and restored, with the standards, in B.C. 20, but this statement probably refers only to those who were within easy call; and the thirty-three years' residence in the distant valleys of the Indian Caucasus may well have reconciled the then surviving remnant of Crassus's force to their foreign home and new domestic ties. See also Suetonius, in Augusto, c. xxi., in Tiberio, c. ix.

³ *Ἀντιόχεια ἡ καλουμένη Ἐνυδρος*, or *Antiochia irrigua*, was distant 537 *schœni*, by the Parthian royal road, from *Ctesiphon*, or Madain, on the Tigris: in continuation of the same highway, it was 30 *schœni* N.N.E. of *Ἀλεξάνδρεια ἡ ἐν Ἀρείοις* or *Alexandria Ariana*, the modern “Herát,” from whence the route proceeded by Farrah and the Lake of Zaranj to *Sikohah*, the *Σακαστανὴ Σακῶν Σκυθῶν* or *Sacastana Sacarum Scytharum*, and hence to Bust and *Ἀλεξανδρόπολις, μητρόπολις Ἀραχωσίας*, or the modern Kandahár.—C. Müller, *Geographi Græci Minores* (Paris, pp. xci. 252, and Map No. x.).

Merv-ul-rúd  was selected as the seat of government of Khorasán on the Arab conquest, in preference to the more northern Merv  or Merv

Sháhjohán—both which names are to be found on the initial Arabico-Pahlavi coins of Selim bin Zíád and Abdulláh Hazim, in 63 A.H. (J.R.A.S. Vol. XII. p. 293, and XIII. p. 404). The early Arabian geographers, who officially mapped-out every strategic and commercial highway, tell us that important routes conducted the merchant or traveller from Merv-ul-rúd eastwards, by Tálikán, Farayáb and Maimana, to Balkh, whence roads branched-off to the southward, to Bamián, and by other lines to Andarábah, Parwán, and Kábul.

While Herát once reached, by the direct main line to the south, offered endless

cepting their established supremacy, settled themselves down as good citizens, taking in marriage the women of the country,¹ and forming new republics,² without objecting to the recognition of a nominal Suzerain—a political supremacy their fellow-countrymen so soon submitted to in its closer and more direct form of Emperor—at the same time that they retained their old manners and customs, and with them the religion of the Roman pantheon, with the due allowance of Antistes and possibly a Pontifex Maximus, in partibus infidelium.

To judge from the changes and gradations in the onward course of these mintages, it would seem as if the new settlers had either directly copied the *obverses* of the Indo-Scythians with their normal Greek legends, or possibly they may have been supplied with official mint-dies, which they used to destruction, and when, in turn, they had to renew these *obverse* dies, they imparted to the ideal bust of the suzerain many of their own conventional details of dress, etc. But in the process of imitation, they appear to have adhered as far as possible to a mechanical reproduction of the old quasi-Greek letters of the Indo-Scythian legend, while on their new and independent *reverses* they took licence in the Latin forms of the Greek alphabet, frequently embodying the current Zend terms in their own hybrid characters, and in some cases becoming converts to, or at least accepting the symbols of the local creeds. Their influence, on the other hand, upon local thought and Indian science, may perchance be traced in the pages of the *Pauliṣa-Siddhānta* and *Romaka-Siddhānta*, wherein their adopted Greek astronomy was insured a shorter passage to the East than the hitherto-recognized devious routes from Alexandria to the Western coast and other points

facilities for the dispersion of the new settlers in the six or seven roads which focussed in the centre formed by that ancient city. (See Sprenger's Post- und Reiserouten des Orients, maps 4, 5; M. N. Khanikof, "Asie centrale," Paris, 1861, map; Ferrier's Caravan Journeys, London, 1857, map.)

¹ Milesne Crassi conjuge barbara, etc.—Horace, Od. iii. 5. 5.

² A very suggestive indication has been preserved, in later authors, about the white-blood claimed by the ruling races of Badakhshān, Darwāz, Kulāb, Shighnān, Wakhān, Chitrāl, Gilgit, Swāt, and Bālti.—Burnes, J.A.S.B. vol. ii. p. 305; J.R.A.S. Vol. VI. p. 99; Marco Polo, cap. xxix. Yule's edit. i. p. 152. See also, for Kanishka's power in these parts, Hiouen Tshang, Mémoires, i. pp. 42, 104, 172, 199.

of contact could have afforded.¹ And, in another direction, these new suggestions may lead us to re-examine, with more authority, the later amplifications of the Zend alphabet,² and to expose the needless introduction of foreign vowels and diphthongs—the assimilation of the anomalous Latin ξ q and the reception of the \int f , which was only dubiously represented in the Sanskrit alphabet by ϕ ph .

Prof. Max Müller has remarked that the mention of the word *dīnār* is, in a measure, the test of the date of a Sanskrit MS.,³ and so the use of the re-converted Roman *aurei* may serve to check and define the epoch of distant dynastic changes.

Pliny has told us of the “crime,” as he calls it, of him who was the first to coin a *denarius* of gold,⁴ which took place sixty-two years after the first issue of silver money, or in B.C. 207. Under Julius Cæsar the weight of the *aureus* was revised and fixed at the rate of forty to the *libra*, after which period the rate gradually fell, till, under Nero, forty-five *aurei* were coined to the *libra*.

The average weight of extant specimens of Julius Cæsar’s *denarii* of gold is stated to run at about 125·66 grains, while similar pieces of Nero fall to a rate of 115·39 grains.

The Persian Daric seems to have been fixed at 130 grains.⁵ The Greek gold pieces of Diodotus of Bactria weigh as much as 132·3 grains.⁶

The Indo-Scythian gold coins reach as high as 125,⁷ but this is an exceptionally heavy return. The Kadphises’ group of coins range up to 122·5, and support an average of 122·4; an average which is confirmed by the double piece, no. 5, pl. x. *Ariana Antiqua*, which weighs 245 grains.⁸ The

¹ Colebrooke, *Essays*, vol. ii. p. 340. — Wilford, *Asiatic Researches*, vol. x. pp. 55, 101, etc. Reinaud, *Mem. sur l’Inde*, pp. 332, etc. Whitney, *Lunar Zodiac*, 1874, p. 371. Kern, Preface to “*Brihat Sanhitā*,” p. 40, etc.

² J.R.A.S. Vol. XII. o.s. p. 272, and Vol. III. n.s. p. 266. Prinsep’s *Essays*, vol. ii. p. 171.

³ *Sanskrit Literature*, p. 245.

⁴ xxxiii. 13.

⁵ *International Numis. Orient.*, Mr. Head, p. 30.

⁶ *Journ. Roy. As. Soc.* Vol. XX. p. 122.

⁷ Gen. Cunningham, *J.A.S.B.*, 1845, p. 435. Coin of *Araeikro* (No. 23, Pl. II.).

⁸ Coin in British Museum.

Kanerki series present a slightly lower average, but sustain, in numerous instances, a full measure of 122 grains. So that, allowing for wear or depreciation in recoinage, the official imitative mint-rate would not be far removed from the fall following close upon Julius Cæsar's full average, which progressively reached the lower figures above quoted under Nero. While the coin weights, on the one hand, serve to determine the initial date of the serial issues, the devices above described will suffice, on their part, to indicate the periods of inter-communion with the Imperial history as seen in the periodical introduction of copies of the new Roman types of Mint reverses.

To enable my readers to judge of the state of the religious beliefs of Upper India and the adjoining countries to the northward and westward, I have taken advantage of the very important discovery of the gold coins of the Scythic period above described, to compile, or rather to enlarge a previous Table,¹ exhibiting the names of the multitudinous gods recognized amid the various nationalities who, at this time, bowed to the Indo-Scythian sway.²

¹ Numismatic Chronicle, n.s. vol. xii. 1872, p. 113. My "Sassanians in Persia" (Trübner, 1873), p. 43.

² The faith or dominant creed of the three brothers, Kanerki, Oerki, and Vasudeva (*Hushka, Jushka, Kanishka*), or that of their subjects, may be tested by the devices of the Pesháwar hoard of their coins.

ΚΑΝΕΡΚΙ, Κανηρκι.	ΟΟΕΡΚΙ, Οοηρκι.	ΒΑΣΔΕΟ, Βαζοδηο.
1. Μυρο	1. Ριαη	1. Νανα
2. Μειρο	2. Ηρακιλο	2. Οκρο, under numerous forms
3. Μαιο	3. Ωροη	
4. Αθρο	4. Σαραπο	
5. Νανα ραο	5. Ζερο	
	6. Οανινδο	
	7. Μιθρα (Μυρο, Μιορο, Μορο, etc.)	
	8. Μαιο	
	9. Μαιο with Μυρο	
	10. Μαναο βαγο	
	11. Αθρο	
	11a. Ραο ρηθρο	
	12. Αραειχρο	
	13. Φαρρο	
	14. Νανα	
	15. Οκρο	
	16. Αρδοχρο	
	17. Μασσηνο	
	18. { Σκανδο Κομαρο Βιζαγο	

This table is confined to the list of 93 specimens, selected from the total Pesháwar *find* of 524 coins, as numismatic examples for deposit in the British Museum. The 60 coins brought home by Sir Bartle Frere from the same *trouvaille*, for the Indian Government, do not add any varieties to these lists.

VEDIC GODS.	IRÁNIAN GODS.	PERSIAN.	GREEK AND GRÆCO-ROMAN.	BRAHMANICAL.	BUDDHIST.
1. ΩΡΟΗ <i>Varuṇa</i>	1. ΟΑΔΟ <i>Vayu</i>	1. ΜΙΘΡΟ <i>Mithra</i>	1. ΗΛΙΟΣ <i>ἥλιος</i>	1. ΟΚΡΟ <i>Śiva</i>	1. ΒΟΔΑ ΣΑΜΑΝΑ <i>Bodā Sramana</i>
2. ΟΡΔΑΙΓΝΟ <i>Agni</i>	2. ΜΙΠΟ <i>Mihira</i>	2. ΝΑΝΑ <i>Nana</i>	2. ΗΡΑΚΛΙΟ <i>Heracles</i>	2. ΑΡΔΟΧΡΟ <i>Parvati?</i>	
	3. ΑΡΑΕΙΧΡΟ	3. ΝΑΝΑ ΡΑΟ <i>Nana-rao</i>	3. ΡΙΑΗ <i>Rhea? (PallasCapitolina)</i>	3. ΜΑΑΣΗΝΟ <i>Mahāsēna</i>	
	4. ΜΑΟ <i>Mao</i>	4. ΝΑΝΑΙΑ <i>Nanaia</i>	4. ΣΑΡΑΠΟ <i>Sarapis</i>	4. ΣΚΑΝΔΟ <i>Skanda</i>	
	5. ΜΑΟ and ΜΙΠΟ <i>Mao and Mihira</i>	5. ΟΑΝΙΝΔΟ <i>Anandates</i>	5. ΖΕΡΟ <i>Ceres? (Diana)</i>	5. ΚΟΜΑΡΟ <i>Kumāra</i>	
	6. ΜΑΝΑΟ ΒΑΓΟ <i>Manah Bago</i>		6. ΡΑΟ ΡΗΘΡΟ <i>Teorēthro (Mars)</i>	6. ΒΙΖΑΓΟ <i>Viśākha</i>	
	7. ΑΘΡΟ <i>Atars</i>				
	8. ΦΑΡΟ <i>Pharo, fire-bearer</i>				

I have reduced both the description of Plate II., as well as the above Table, to the narrowest possible outlines, for two reasons: firstly, because I do not desire to anticipate or

interfere with Mr. Vaux's more comprehensive description of Sir B. Frere's selections from the great Peshāwar *find*—which we may hope shortly to see in the pages of our Journal; and secondly, because I wish to await General Cunningham's mature report upon the same *trouvaille*, which is designed to form an article in the *Numismata Orientalia*, a work in which I am much interested. The only portions of the full number of 524 coins that I have examined are confined to the 93 specimens Sir E. C. Bayley has forwarded to me for the purpose of study and for *eventual* deposit in the British Museum, and the 60 coins from the same source brought home by Sir Bartle Frere, now in the Library at the India Office.

Nevertheless, there are some suggestive identifications embodied in the Table for which I may be held more immediately responsible, and which I must, as far as may be, endeavour to substantiate.

I. VEDIC GODS.

The first, and most venturesome of these, is the association of the *ωρον* on the coins with the Vedic *Varuṇa*; but the process of reasoning involved becomes more simple, when we have to admit that *Οὐρανός* and *Varuṇa* are identical under independent developments from one and the same Aryan conception—and that, even if exception should be taken to the elected transcription of *Ωρον*, the manifestly imperfect rendering of the letters of the Greek legend freely admits of the alternative *Ωρον*.

Some difficulty has been felt, throughout the arrangement of the Table, as to under which of the first four headings certain names should be placed; in this instance, I have been led to put *Varuṇa* in the Vedic column, on account of the absence of the final Zend *o*—which would have associated the name more directly with the Iranian branch of worship.¹

A similar reason might properly be urged for removing

¹ Muir, *Sanskrit Texts*, vol. v. pp. 58, 72, 76, 120, etc.; Haug, *Sacred Writings of the Parsces*, pp. 226, 230.

ΟΡΔΑΓΝΟ from column i. to column ii.; but in this case the “*Agni*” is preferentially Vedic,¹ and the Iranian branch has its own representative of “Fire,” in the technical ΑΘΡΟ. There is also another objection to be met, in the matter of the prefix. It has been usual to follow Lassen’s identification of ΑΡΔΟΧΡΟ, as meaning “half-Siva,” *i.e.* the female form of that hermaphrodite god;² but these new legends suggest, if they do not prove, that the prefix ΑΡΔ corresponds to the Sanskrit ऋत *ṛita*, “worshipped,” great, etc., instead of to the assumed अर्द्ध *arddhan*, “half.” And as, in the present instance, the figure to which the designation is attached is clearly a male, with spear and crested helmet,³ there can be no pretence of making a half-female out of this device.

II. IRANIAN GODS.

The opening ΟΑΔΟ of this list might well have claimed a place in column i., in virtue of its approximation to the Vedic *Vāyu*—a term under which “the wind” is equally addressed in the Zend-Avesta: *Vāyus uparōkairyo*, “the wind whose business is above the sky.”⁴ But the term ΟΑΔΟ is certainly closer in orthography to the Persian باد *bād*,⁵ and the class of coins upon which it is found pertain more definitely to the Iranian section of the Aryan race, and refer to days when the main body of the Vedic Aryans had long since passed on to the banks of the Jumna.

The ΜΙΠΟ has been committed to column ii. on simply

¹ “Agni is the god of fire, the Ignis of the Latins, the Ogni of the Slavonians. He is one of the most prominent deities of the Rig-Veda. . . Agni is not, like the Greek Hephaitos, or the Latin Vulcan, the artificer of the gods.”—Muir, vol. v. p. 199.

² Journ. A.S. Bengal, 1840, p. 455; Ind. Alt. (new edition), vol. ii. p. 839; Wilson, Ariana Antiqua, p. 366.

³ Ar. An. pl. xii. fig. 3; Journ. A.S. Bengal, 1836, pl. xxxvi. 1; Prinsep’s Essays, pl. xxii. fig. 1; Journ. R.A.S. Vol. XII. o.s. Pl. VI. Fig. 1. I must add that the best specimens of the coins extant give the orthography of ΟΡΔΑΓΝΟ, which, however, has hitherto been universally accepted as ΟΡΔΑΓΝΟ;—a rectification which the parallel frequency of the prefix to other names largely encourages.

⁴ Haug, p. 194; see also pp. 193–232.

⁵ Lassen, J.A.S.B., 1840, p. 454; Wilson, Ariana Antiqua, p. 369; Muir, S. Texts, vol. v. p. 143, “Vāyu does not occupy a very prominent place in the Rig-Veda.”

orthographical grounds; and the MAO and ΜΗΡΟ follow the same law. Among the many outward forms of the Moon-god, MANAO BAGO would almost seem to be a superfluous variant, were it not that the word *Mâonh* may assign it to a more definitely Zend-speaking locality.¹ Then, there are complications about male and female Moons,² which seem to be indicated in the varieties of outlines given to the figures of MAO, and it is clear that the ruling religious systems fully recognized both male and female Mithras.³

It is with much reserve that I venture to suggest any interpretation of the title of ΑΡΑΕΙΧΡΟ. The opening letters may possibly be referred to the Sanskrit अर *ara* "swift,"⁴ and, considering the mixed complications of letters and languages to be seen in parallel transcriptions, the ΕΙΧΡΟ might be dubiously associated with *equus*, ἵκκος, ἵππος, ἵκφος, the "coursier rapide," *i.e.* the Sun.⁵

ΑΘΡΟ, as the type of Fire, the Roman Vulcan, sufficiently declares itself in the artistic rendering of his personal form.

¹ Hang, p. 180; Khurshîd and Mah Yashts.

"The first yasht is devoted to the sun, which is called in Zend *hware kksaêta* = (خورشید) 'sun the King,' the second to the moon called *mâonh* = دلو."

"Je célèbre, j'invoque Ahura et Mithra, élevés, immortels, purs; et les astres, créations saintes et célestes; et l'astre Taschter (Tistrya), lumineux, resplendissant; et la lune, qui garde le germe du taureau; et le soleil, souverain, coursier rapide, œil d'Ahura Mazda; Mithra, chef des provinces."—Burnouf, *Yasna*, p. 375.

² Creutzer, p. xxiv, fig. 330, etc.; Maury, *Hist. des Religions*, Paris, 1859, vol. iii. p. 127, "*Sin* ou Lune des Assyriens . . avait un caractère hermaphrodite. Cette première explication nous donne deux divinités, placées, pour le dire en passant, dans l'ordre hiérarchique, Ahura et Mithra. Mais la séparation même de ces deux mots, *ahuraêibya* et *mithraêibya*, pourrait faire soupçonner qu'il est question en cet endroit de deux Mithras, et que *ahura* doit être regardé comme un titre: 'j'invoque, je célèbre les deux seigneurs Mithras.' Ces deux Mithras seraient sans doute Mithra mâle et Mithra femelle, dont le culte était, selon les Grecs, anciennement célèbre dans la Perse."—Burnouf, *Yaçna*, p. 351; *Zend-Avesta*, vol. i. p. 87.

³ Muir, *Sanskrit Texts*, vol. v. p. 155, "The two sun gods celebrated in the hymns of the Rig Veda," "*Sûrya* and *Savitri*."

⁴ "Thou, *Sûrya*, outstrippest all in speed."—Wilson, *Rig-Veda*, vol. i. p. 131.

⁵ As in note 1, Mr. Muir also considers that some passages in the Rig-Veda symbolize the Sun under the form of a horse.—*Texts*, vol. v. p. 158. Prof. Geldstucker has further traced the derivation of the name of the Aswins from "*aswa*, meaning literally the pervader, then the quick; then the horse, which becomes the symbol of the sun"—*J.R.A.S. Vol. II. n.s.* p. 14; Mrs. Manning, *Ancient India*, vol. i. p. 9. I am fully aware that a coin is extant bearing the letters ΔΡΟΟΑΣΠΟ (Αρθασπο?), but the use of the *aspa* "horse" in this case is not necessarily conclusive against the interpretation of the independent transcript above suggested.

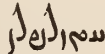
The ΦΑΡΟ or ΦΑΡΡΟ is equally obvious in its intention and in the pictured outline given to the central figure. The name, of course, is derived from the Latin *fero*, as embodied in Lucifer and Diana Lucifera. The early Greeks only knew the designation as that of a light-house, without being able to supply a root for the word, or, indeed, to interpret it otherwise than as "an island in the bay of Alexandria." The term is constant in ancient Persian combinations, as Ataphernes, etc.,—which eventually settled into the *Atúrparn* or Fire Priest of the Sassanian period.¹

III. PERSIAN GODS.

I have repeated the name of ΜΙΘΡΟ in the Persian column, more out of regard to the early Persian worship of the god, than because I can trace the direct descent of the Mithra of Cyrus to the same Iranian deity in his Eastern home.

The simple enumeration of the various forms of the worship of *Nanaia* would fill volumes. Under its Persian aspect it may be sufficient to refer to Artaxerxes Mnemon's inscription at Susa, which specifies "Ormazd, Tanaitis, and Mithra,"² as the gods who "help" him. The thirty chapters of the Aban Yasht are devoted to *Arđvi Súra Anáhita*, "sublime, excellent, spotless," whom "Ahuramazda himself is said to have worshipped."³ And, for the traditions of her worship in the lands with which these coins are indirectly associated, we may cite the many sacred places that still bear her name.⁴

The Oanindo, Anandates, is a new discovery; but I conclude there will be no difficulty in admitting her identity with the Anandates of Strabo.⁵

¹ See J.R.A.S. Vol. XIII. o.s. p. 415, etc. We have now new and clear examples of the true  *Atúrparn*. See also Haug, p. 250. "Soshyantos and Angiras = *Atharvans*."

² J.R.A.S. Vol. XV. p. 159.

³ Haug, pp. 178, 179.

⁴ J.A.S. Bengal, vol. iii. 449; v. 266. Masson, "Travels in Balúchistán." London, 1844, vol. iv. p. 391. Ariana Antiqua, p. 362.

⁵ Strabo xi. viii. 4: "They (the Persians) erected there a temple to Anaitis, and the gods Omanus (Ὠμανοῦ καὶ Ἀναδάτου) and Anandatus, Persian deities who have a common altar." xv. iii. 15: "The same customs are observed in the

IV. ROMAN GODS.

In the identification of the whole list of the Roman and Græco-Roman gods, I have been guided more by the forms and figures stamped on the coins than by the legends which are supposed to define the names and attributes of each divinity, which must often be accepted as simply independent versions of the original nomenclature. I am uncertain about the decipherment of ΠΙΑΗ, but there can be little doubt for whom the figure is intended. In the same way the type of Mars is manifest; his title of ΠΗΡΟ may be referred to the Zend 𑀓𑀲𑀭𑀮 *ereṭha* ऋत "great," etc.,¹ and though *ἐρυθρίας* might find some advocates, Anquetil's *Veréthre* "victorious" seems to be conclusive as to the derivation. It will be remembered that the nearly similar term of ΟΡΔΗΘΟΡ is to be found on the coins of *Kodes*.²

V. BRAHMANICAL GODS.

These several deities, their nomenclatures and attributes, have already been fully adverted to, under their Saivic aspect, in the preceding pages.

I have only to add, in addition to what has already been said about ΑΡΔΟΧΡΟ, a reference to the fact which seems to have been hitherto lost sight of, that the second portion of this name does not coincide with the legitimate orthography of the ΟΚΡΟ of Śiva. Indeed, as far as direct numismatic evidence may furnish a test, Śiva is more directly associated with *Nana*, the *Párvati* of later belief,³ than with the *Ardokro*, or the Roman definition of "abundance" on coin No. 16, Plate II.

temples of Anaïtis and of Omanus. Belonging to these temples are shrines, and a wooden statue of Omanus is carried in procession. These we have seen ourselves."

¹ Burnouf, *Yasna*, pp. 323, 377, 473.

² J.R.A.S. Vol. IV. n.s. p. 518. ΤΡΚΩΔΟΤ, ΟΡΔΗΘΟΤ, ΜΑΚΑΡΟΤ. See also Num. Chron. n.s. vol. xiii. p. 229.

³ See coin No. 7, J.R.A.S. Vol. XII. o.s. Plate IV., and J.A.S. Bengal, vol. iv. fig. 7, pl. xxxviii., and Prinsep's Essays, vol. ii. pl. xxii. fig. 7, wherein ΟΚΡΟ *Śiva* appears upon the reverse in company with *Nana*.

VI. BUDDHIST.

Although I have felt bound to insert the words ΒΟΔΔ ΣΑΜΑΝΑ in my Table, on the authority of Gen. Cunningham, I have only been induced to admit any such possible reading by the coincident appearance of definite figures of Buddha, under the double aspect of the conventional standing and seated statues of the saint.

I am not myself prepared to follow the present interpretation of the legends, though better examples may modify my views.¹ But the point I have now more especially to insist upon is, that the appearance of these Buddhist figures is confined to inferior copper pieces of very imperfect execution, whose legends are absolutely chaotic in the forms and arrangement of the Greek letters. So that I should be disposed to assign the limited group of these *Buddha-device* coins to a comparatively late date in the general series of imitations: which, though still bearing the name and typical devices of *Kanerki*, would seem to consist of mere reproductions of old types by later occupants of the localities in which the earlier coins were struck.

THE MATHURÁ ARCHÆOLOGICAL REMAINS.

I adverted, at the commencement of this article, to the importance of the late archæological discoveries in and around the ancient city of Mathurá²—which so definitely

¹ The coin most relied on to prove the intention of the terms "OM ΒΟΔΔ or perhaps ΟΔΙ ΒΟΔΔ; either *Aum Buddha* or *Adi Buddha*," published by General Cunningham in 1845 (*J.A.S. Bengal*, p. 435, plate 2, fig. 3), presents a central figure on the reverse exactly like the outline of the ΑΡΑΕΙΧΡΟ of the present plate. His Nos. 6 and 7, as I have remarked, though clear in the definition of the figures of Buddha,¹ are of coarse fabric, of far later date than the associate ΟΑΔΟ of the same plate, and finally, the letters of the legends are so badly formed and so straggling as to be utterly untrustworthy in establishing any definite reading. The other limited examples of this class of coins will be found in *Ariana Antiqua*, pl. xiii. figs. 1, 2, 3. Here, again, the figures are incontestable, but Prof. Wilson did not pretend to interpret the broken legends. Prinsep figured a coin of this description in fig. 11, pl. xxv. *J.A.S. Bengal*, vol. iii.; *Prinsep's Essays*, pl. vii. This coin was noticed, but left uninterpreted by Lassen in his paper in the *J.A.S. Bengal*, 1840, p. 456.

² Amid the cities which were supposed to have claims to the honour of becoming the birthplace of Śākya Muni, Mathurá is rejected because its kings had hereditary ideas inconsistent with the new faith, *i.e.* adhered to the old,

establish the prominence of the Jaina religion, in the full developments of its sacred statues and associate inscriptions, at or about the commencement of our era.¹

The Mathurá sculptured monuments have preserved for modern examination the *nude* images of the saints of the Jainas,² with the devotional dedications of the votaries of the faith appended in all contemporary formality.

Jainism? “D’autres dirent : La ville de Mathoura, riche, étendue, florissante, et animée par une population nombreuse, toute remplie d’hommes ; ce palais du roi Sonbáhon. . . D’autres dirent : Elle ne convient pas non plus ; pourquoi ? Parce que ce roi est né dans une famille où les vues fausses sont héréditaires, et qu’il règne sur des hommes pareils aux barbares.”—Lalita Vistara, Foucaux, p. 25.

¹ General Cunningham was fully aware of the value of these discoveries, in their bearing upon the associate creeds of Jainism and Buddhism. That he should have ventured so far independently in the direction of the leading argument of this paper is highly encouraging. His remarks are to the following effect :

“This is perhaps one of the most startling and important revelations that has been made by recent researches in India. It is true that, according to Jaina books, their faith had continuously flourished, under a succession of teachers, from the death of Mahávíra in B.C. 527 down to the present time. Hitherto, however, there was no tangible evidence to vouch for the truth of this statement. But the Kankáli mound at Mathurá has now given us the most complete and satisfactory testimony that the Jaina religion, even before the beginning of the Christian era, must have been in a condition almost as rich and flourishing as that of Buddha.

“The Kankáli mound is a very extensive one, and the number of statues of all sizes, from the colossal downwards, which it has yielded, has scarcely been surpassed by the prolific returns of Buddhist sculpture from the Jail mound. But, as not more than one-third of the Kankáli mound has yet been thoroughly searched, it may be confidently expected that its complete exploration will amply repay all the cost and trouble of the experiment.”—General Cunningham, Arch. Rep. vol. iii. p. 46.

² Albírúni (A.D. 1030) has furnished us with a description of the forms of many of the Indian idols, derived from the text of Varáha-Mihira (sixth cent. A.D.). He defines the contrast between the statues of Buddha and those of the *Arhats* or Jaina saints in the following terms : “Si tu fais la statue de Djina, c’est-à-dire Bouddha, tâche de lui donner une figure agréable et des membres bien faits. Il doit avoir les paumes de la main et le dessous des pieds en forme de nénufar. Tu le représenteras assis, ayant des cheveux gris, et respirant un air de bonté, comme s’il était le père des créatures. S’il s’agit de donner à Bouddha la figure d’un arhanta, il faut en faire un jeune homme nu, beau de figure, et d’une physionomie agréable. Il aura les deux mains appuyées sur les genoux,” etc.—Reinaud, *Memoires sur l’Inde*, p. 121. Dr. Kern’s translation, direct from the original Sanskrit text, gives : “The god of the Jainas is figured naked, young, handsome, with a calm countenance, and arms reaching down to the knees ; his breast is marked with the *Çrivatsa* figure.”—J.R.A.S. Vol. VI. n.s. p. 328. See also Wilson, *J.A.S. Bengal*, vol. i. p. 4 ; Burnouf, vol. i. p. 312. I omitted to notice in my previous references to nude statues (pp. 166, 170, 171, etc.), the remarkable expressions made use of by Calanus to Onesicritus ; after “bidding him to strip himself naked, if he desired to hear any of his doctrine,” he adds, “you should not hear me on any other condition though you came from Jupiter himself.” Plutarch in Alexander. The exaction of these conditions seems to point to the tenets of Jainism.

While on the subject of discriminating points, I add to the information, outlined

These *nude* statues of the Jaina Tīrthankaras teach us, like so many other subordinate indications of the remote antiquity of the creed, in its normal form, to look for parallels amid other forms of worship in their initiatory stage—and here we are inevitably reminded of the time when men made idols after their own images,¹ and while those men, in the simplicity of nature, stood up, without shame, as the Creator had fashioned them.

The value of the dedicatory inscriptions towards the elucidation of my leading question is, however, still more precise and irrecusable, in respect to the age of the monuments themselves, in the conjoint record of the name of the great Saint *Mahāvīra* and that of *Vāsudeva*,—the ΒΑΖΟΔΗΘ of the Indo-Scythian coins above described,—the third brother, or, as the case may be, the nominal head of the third tribe of the “*Hushka, Jushka, and Kanishka*” once nomad community.

Of the twenty-four dated inscriptions given by General Cunningham in his Archæological Report for 1871–2, no less than seven refer either directly, or indirectly, in the forms of the pedestals and the statues to which they are attached, to the Jaina creed.

Nos. 2 and 3, dated *Sam.* 5; 4, dated *Samvat* 9, bear the name of Kanishka. No. 6, dated *Sam.* 20, is remarkable, as it specifies “the gift of one statue of *Vardhamana*” or *Mahāvīra*.

at p. 161, a curious account of the modern Jaina reverence for the Footprints of their saints: “Shading the temple (of Vāsinghji—one of the five snake brethren, at Thán) is a large *Rāyana* tree—the close foliage of small dark green oval leaves, which makes the shade so grateful, apparently having had to do with its being consecrated as a sacred tree in Western India, where it is specially dedicated by the Jainas to their first Tīrthankara—Rishabhanátha—the patron saint of Śatruñjaya—no shrine to him being complete without a Rāyana tree overshadowing his *charana* or footprints.”—Mr. Burgess, Arch. Rep. 1875, p. 5.

¹ Xenophanes, colophonii Carminum Reliquiæ, by Simon Karsten (Brussels, 1830), p. vi. His interpretation of one of the leading passages of the Greek text runs:—“v. At mortales opinantur natos esse Deos, mortalique habitu et forma et figura præditos.” And vi. continues: “Si vero manus haberent boves vel leones, ant pingere manibus et fabricari eadem quæ homines possent, ipsi quoque Deorum formas pingerent figurasque formarent tales, quali ipsorum quisque præditus sit, equi equis, boves autem bobus similes.”—p. 41. Pliny, xxxiv. p. 9, under *iconiæ*, adds the Greek practice is, not to cover any part of the “body” of their statues. Max Müller, Sanskrit Literature, vol. ii. p. 338.

No. 16, with the date of *Sam.* 83, and the name of Mahá-rája Vásu-deva, records, on the pedestal of a naked statue, "the gift of an image." No. 18, in like manner, preserves, at the foot of "a naked figure," the entry of *Sam.* 87, and the titles of Mahárája *Rájatirája Sháhi Vásu-deva*.

No. 20, which is, perhaps, the most important of the whole series of inscriptions, is appended to a "Naked standing figure," and commences with the following words:

"*Siddham Aum ? Namó Arahate Mahávirasya Devanásasya Rájnya Vásu Devasya Samvatsare 98, Varsha Máse, 4 divase, 11 etasya.*"

"Glory to the Arhat Mahávira, the destroyer of the Devas! (In the reign) of King Vásu-deva, in the Samvat year 98, in Varsha (the rainy season), the 4th month, the 11th day," etc.

Without doubt this list might be largely extended from concurrent palæolithic documents, which do not so definitely declare themselves as of Jaina import; but enough has been adduced to establish the fact of the full and free usage of the Jaina religion in Mathurá so early as the epoch of the Indo-Scythian *Kanerkis*.

ART. IX.—*The Northern Frontagers of China.* Part II.—
The Manchus. (Supplementary Notice.) By H. H.
 HOWORTH.

IN concluding my former paper on the Manchus, I ventured to say that it condensed the history of their origin so far as it could be gathered from authorities accessible to western students, and to express a hope that new materials might enable us to clear up its crooked story. These have reached me sooner than I could have expected, and are contained in two papers by M. Gorski, who was attached to the Russian Mission at Peking, and have been published in the first and second volumes of the publications of that Mission. These two volumes have been translated into German under the title of *Arbeiten der Russischen Gesandtschaft zu Peking*, by Dr. Carl Abel and F. A. Mecklenburg. From this translation I shall give the following account, on which I am dependent entirely as to all new facts and authorities.

M. Gorski has especially thrown light on and dissected the legendary origin of the Manchu royal stock. This legend is a curious mixture of native and foreign elements, and has developed very considerably with time. M. Gorski has traced it from its original modest kernel. The earliest notice of it in writing is contained in a *Manchu* dictionary published at Peking in 1708, and entitled “Manchu gisun i buleku biche.” In this work, and under the word Manchu, we read: “Tai tsu sprang from the family Gioro. This had its origin in the *Chan-po-shan* mountain, which is two hundred *li* in height and about one thousand *li* in circuit. On its summit is the lake *Ta mun*, eighty *li* in circumference, and from its foot flow the three rivers, *Yalu*, *Khun tun*, and *Aikhu*. *Aishin-Gioro* settled on the eastern side of the *Chan-po-shan*, in the steppe of *Omokhoi*, in the town of *Odoli*, and gave his kingdom the name *Manchu*. Afterwards his capital was moved to *Khetu Ala*, now called *Yenden*” (*op. cit.* vol. i. p. 557). This I believe to be the original legend. About thirty years later there appeared a work by *Pa zi tun chsi*,

which professed to describe the origin, development, and organization of the *Manchu race*. In this account the legend has grown a good deal, and lake *Bulkhuri*, at the foot of Mount *Bukuri*, is named as the cradle of the race. The mother of *Aishin-Gioro* is merely named as a divine virgin who ate a fruit on the banks of the lake and became pregnant. Nothing is said of her name or of her sisters'. The story continues as I told it in the previous paper, till *Aishin-Gioro* reaches the three families. In this edition it is he who says in answer to their queries: "My family is called *Aishin-Gioro*, my name is *Bukuri Yonshon*." It then continues as I originally told it (*op. cit.* p. 352).

Thirty years later, again, there appeared a third work by an author named *Manchu yuan liu kao*, which also describes the origin and earliest condition of the *Manchu race*. Here the legend has again grown: instead of one maiden we have three, whose names are given, and the legend has otherwise blossomed into its present exuberance.

This growth may fitly be compared with that of the *Mongol* legend, nor is it unnatural that, when a barbarous race becomes powerful, and its chief the emperor of a mighty nation like that of China, he should wish to surround the origin of his race with a certain halo, and to trace it up to a mythic origin.

The additions made to the original legend, as in the case of that of the *Mongols*, were not inventions, but adaptations of stories from old Chinese and Tatar History. Thus, in regard to the miraculous conception, stories almost exactly like it are told in other places. I again quote from *M. Gorski*. Speaking of the origin of the *Shan* dynasty, the Chinese historians say: "One day *Tsiandi*, the mother of *Tsi*, the founder of the *Shan* dynasty, went with two other young girls into the sea to bathe. Here they saw a bird like a swallow let fall an egg; *Tsiandi* picked it up, ate it, became pregnant, and bore *Tsi*" (*Gorski, op. cit.* p. 360).

A similar story is also told of the origin of the *Tsin* dynasty. We read that *Niui siu*, the mother of the founder of the house of *Tsin*, "sat on a weaving stool, when a swallow let an egg drop near her. She ate it and bore *Daé*."

In these stories, no doubt, we have the germ of the tale about the miraculous birth of *Aishin-Gioro*, and, in the former story, we have three maidens named, as in the *Manchu* legend.

In regard to the names of these three maidens, *Engulen*, *Chsengulen*, and *Fekulen*, Klaproth writes them *Engurun*, *Chsengurun*, and *Fegurun*, making out that *gulen* or *kulen* is a Chinese corruption of *gurun*, which in Manchu means "State" or "Kingdom." M. Gorski objects to this that the names are written with *l* and not with *r* in the Manchu text of the work *Kaigo fan liu*. He adds further that the names have no meaning in Manchu, and that no old Manchu word begins with *chsen*, but that it is Chinese (*op. cit.* p. 361), and it is most likely that the three names, as well as the incident attaching to them, were borrowed from the Chinese, as was also the name of *Yonshon* (which *Aishin-Gioro* is made to give himself), which is the Chinese *Yun shun* (*ibid.* p. 361). We have no hesitation, therefore, in ascribing the additions to the story as of Chinese origin, and have thus reduced the legend to much smaller proportions, and to the form it bears in the Manchu lexicon already referred to.

The earliest form of the legend agrees with the latest, in fixing upon the *Chan-po-shan*, otherwise called *Bei-chsen-lu* (Gorski, p. 359), or *Great White Mountains*, the northern buttresses of *Corea*, as the cradle of the Manchu race. These mountains are well styled the Olympus of the Manchus by M. Gorski (*Arbeiten, etc.*, vol. i. p. 359), and the focus pivot around which their earliest legends gather. They were the sacred land of their ancestors the *Kin Tatars*, whose emperor instituted sacrifices in their honour as the lofty protectors of their fatherland (*ibid.*). In the geography which was written during the *Yuen dynasty*, we are told that these mountains are 200 *li* in height, and 1000 *li* in length, and that a great lake of 80 *li* in circumference is found in their midst, from which flow the three rivers *Yalu*, *Khuntun*, and *Aikhu* (Gorski, *op. cit.* p. 359). In the *Manchu Dictionary* already quoted, the three rivers are made to spring at the foot of the mountains, and not in the lake, and this is the correct view.

The three rivers are the Yalu, which rises on the southern flank of the Shan Alin range, flows to the south-westward, and falls into the Yellow Sea. The Khuntun is otherwise known to the Chinese as *Kuentung kiang* or *Somoho*, and is the *Sungari*. The *Aikhu*, written also *Ho ye ku ho* by the Chinese, is the Tumun, which flows to the north-east, and falls into the Sea of Japan.

While in the earlier recension of the legend the mountains are called the Chan po shan, in the later one, quoted in my paper on the Manchus, they are called Bukhuri, and we learn from the Archimandrite Palladius, that the Chan po shan were in fact called Bukhian Shan, or God's mountain, of which Bukhuri is a mere corruption. Similarly the lake Bulkhuri is identical with the Ta mun of the other narrative. Bukhuri and Bulkhuri being apparently the native names, and Chan po shan and Ta mun being the Chinese ones.

The derivation of the royal race from the *Olympus of Manchu* tradition, the kernel of their home-land, is a very natural myth. We get on a more historical basis when we deal with the ancestor of the dynasty, and *Odoli*, his residence. This ancestor, according to the legend already quoted, and according, also, to the testimony of *Tai tsu*, the real founder of the *Manchu* power, as asserted in the account of his struggle with *Butshsantai Beila*, the chief of the tribe Ula or Ala. There he is made to send a message to the latter, beginning with the words, "I am the descendant of *Aishin Gioro*, a man of divine origin." *Aishin* means merely golden, and was the name given to their nation by the *Kin Tatars*, who styled their empire *Aishin gurun*, i.e. golden kingdom (Borg's *Hyacinthe*, p. 294), and this name is another proof that the *Manchu* dynasty is really descended from that of the *Kin Tatars*. *Gioro* is the family name of the present *Manchu* dynasty. There is a river *Gioro*, which comes from the province of *Girin*, flows north-eastward of *Mukden*, and falls into the river *Dai tsin*, south-westwards of *Ninguta*, four *li* from the ruins of *Shan kin*, the ancient capital of the *Kin Tatars*; and there still exists there an unimportant fortification, which is styled "the ancient city of *Gioro*," and "the small distance of this place from *Odoli* confirms very remark-

ably the legend that it was in that town, about 330 *li* from *Ninguta*, that the founder of the *Manchu* dynasty reigned" (Gorski, *op. cit.* p. 364). The surname of the reigning family is *Gioro*, and all its members still bear the name; and the historian of the origin of the *eight banners* tells us that in the days of *Tai tsu* the family *Gioro* was scattered in the various districts of *Muke*, *Yekhe*, *Kemukhu*, *Khingan*, *Sargu*, *Ala*, *Khada*, *Wanzin*, etc., and that these scattered fragments drew together and formed a single whole when the *Manchus* won their supremacy over the other tribes (*ibid.* p. 363). The meaning of the tradition, no doubt, is that the Imperial line is descended from the stock of the old *Kin* Emperors who ruled in this district, and that the family name of the race was *Gioro*, while *Aishin* is a synonym for *Kin* (*op. cit.* pp. 367, 368). The *Manchus* are very confident that *Aishin Gioro* was a real person, and not a mere abstraction, and in this view *Abel Remusat* long ago concurred, and it is also held by M. Gorski.

Let us now consider somewhat more closely the district where the legend centres.

The site of *Odoli* is fixed by the Chinese geographers on the banks of the *La fuchen pira*, 43° 35' N. lat., and 128° E. long., that is, on one of the feeders of the *Hurka*. Its position is marked in the map of *Manchuria* attached to *Williamson's Travels in North China*, and the town itself is described in *Du Halde's* narrative.

In describing the *Manchurian* province of *Girin* or *Kirin*, he says: "Also in these parts are the remains of several cities. . . . *Odoli hotun* was very strong by its situation being accessible only by a narrow string of earth, which rises like a causeway in the middle of the water; here also are to be seen great staircases of stone, with other remains of a palace, the like of which is observable nowhere else, not even at *Ninguta*" (*Du Halde*, vol. iv. p. 102). This town, according to the *Manchu* traditions, was the original homeland of the *Manchu* royal stock.

In the work already cited, called the *Manchu yuan liu kao*, we read: "The first place where the reigning dynasty reigned was called *Odoli* or *Odo lian* by the writers of the

Yuen period, and *Odoli* or *Odolun* by those of the *Ming*. When it had secured the district of the Po haian Tsian chsu, the writers of the *Ming* dynasty gave the kingdom the name of Tsian chsu" (*op. cit.* p. 369). According to the work *Min zi bei liu*, *Tai tsu*, in the letter which he sent to the Chinese frontier town of Tsinche, calls himself Khan of the kingdom of Tsian chsu (*ibid.*).

Tsian chsu, in the words of the geography of the *Yuen* dynasty, lay to the south of the upper capital of the *Kin* Empire, while it stands among the writers of the *Ming* dynasty as the name of the whole country from Girin or Kirin to the borders of *Liantung*. It is also used in a more special sense as designating the district immediately bordering on the latter province (*id.* p. 364), and it included the sites of *Odoli* and also of *Khetu Ala*, where *Tai tsu* fixed his Court. Let us examine it a little more closely. Towards the end of the *Ming* dynasty an historical work was published by one Chuan dao chsu, and entitled *Bo u jan khoi*. In this work there was a chapter describing the Manchurian province of Tsian chsu. Unfortunately the work is very rare, and M. Gorski could not obtain a copy, but a portion of it is cited in a work styled *Kaigo fan liu*. There we find it stated that "*Tsian chsu*, the second province of the State of the *Kin*, was ruled over during the *Yuen period* (i.e. the *Mongol period*) by a single chief, but during the *Ming period* it was divided into three sections, namely, *Tsian chsu*, properly so called, *Khai si*, and *Ye shen*" (Gorski, p. 368). We have already identified Tsian chsu with the country controlled by the ancestors of the Manchu dynasty.

It will be remembered that the legend makes *Aishin Giyoro* land at a canton occupied by three families, over whom he eventually ruled. The meaning of this has been much obscured by *Klaproth* and others. "The three families" in *Manchu* is "*Ilan Hala*," which, translated into Chinese, is *San-sin*. Now a town called *San-sin* exists at the outfall of the *Hurka* into the *Sungari*, and *Du Halde*, *Klaproth*, and *Plath* have argued that this town represents, in fact, the three families referred to; but, as M. Gorski says, this seems to be a purely European discovery. No such name as *Ilan*

Hala occurs among the lists of *Manchu tribes* which we possess; while as to the town of San-sin, it is only a very modern affair, having only been built in 1715 by the Emperor Kanghi (*op. cit.* p. 371). The three families of the legend are no doubt to be identified with the three divisions of the Ussunu Jurtshid of the Mongol narrative of Ssanang Setzen (*op. cit.* p. 285). Ussunu means those living on the water or the river, and in part answers to the Su in the Su Mongols of De Piano Carpini (Schmidt, note to Ssanang Setzen, p. 421), and it is very probable that in these three sections we have the three divisions of Tsian chsu, namely, Tsian chsu proper, Khai si, and Ye shen. The account of Chuan dao chsu goes on to say that, notwithstanding the division, the nation of Tsian chsu, properly so called, which was situated in the midst of the country, dominated over the other two sections.

From these various facts we may gather that at an early date a ruler of the name of *Aishin-Giuro* founded a power in Manchuria, which consisted of a large portion of the eastern part of the present government of *Girin* or *Kirin*, that his kingdom was known to the Chinese as Tsian chsu, that he had his seat of government at *Odoli*, and that his dominions were divided into three sections. The next question is, when did this ruler, who founded the *Manchu* State, live? It is very improbable that he did so, so long as the Mongols reigned in China. The ruler or governor of *Tsian chsu*, referred to above as governing it in their day, was probably one of their officials; for in the geography of the *Yuen* dynasty we are told that a *Mongol* governor was placed in the capital city of the *Kin*, while Mongol garrisons were planted at Ninguta and Odoli, and the people were once more governed by elders, lived once more in the villages, gave themselves up to hunting, and neglected trade, and thus, apparently, formed no settled community (Gorski, *op. cit.* p. 365). It is, further, very improbable that the Mongols, who mercilessly persecuted the *Kin* dynasty, should have allowed a branch of this royal family to retain independent authority in its ancient cradle-land. When the Mongol dynasty was supplanted by that of the *Ming*, the external policy of the

empire was changed. It was deemed prudent to draw a curtain about the frontiers of the empire, and to leave the frontier tribes to themselves. It was, doubtless, at this time, and when the neighbouring Mongols were broken to pieces, that a revival took place in Manchuria, and that a new power began to consolidate there. This is confirmed in another way. In the work already quoted, written by *Kaigo-fan-liu*, we are told that there were not more than ten generations between *Aishin-Gioro* and *Tai tsu*. Now, giving twenty years to a generation, which M. Gorski shows reason for being a reasonable calculation, we get 200 years, which brings us in fact to the commencement of the Ming dynasty.

It would seem that the early Manchu *Wangtis* bore the title of *Dudu*. Thus, the messenger of the Ming court, who went to *Tai tsu* to explain his master's conduct in regard to *Nikan waelan*, spoke thus: "Our kingdom has sent you a diploma for the rank of *Dudu*; if you continue to be unfriendly, we will also raise *Nikan waelan* to the rank of a Manchu prince." And we learn from the work *Dun khua lu*, that not only *Tai tsu*, but also *Sin su* and *Chao su*, his dependents, were also *Dudus*. *Dudu* was also the highest rank among the chiefs of *Tsian chsu*, and answered to the Manchu *Beile*; we may therefore conclude that the Manchu *Wangtis* were descended from the *Dudus* of *Tsian chsu*, and in all probability the founder of the line was *Aishin-Gioro*. Now in the extracts from the *Chuan dao chsu*, to which I have already referred, we read that in the first year of *Yun li*, *i.e.* in 1403, the senior official of *Ye shen* went to the Chinese court, upon which *Tsian chsu* and *Khai si*, *i.e.* the two other sections of *Tsian chsu* proper, also submitted. They were then divided into more than 200 districts, a commissary was appointed over them, while all their former leaders, from the *Dudu* to the *Chsen fu*, received ranks from the Chinese court" (Gorski, *op. cit.* p. 368). This may be the very occasion when *Aishin-Gioro* was definitely constituted chief of the Manchus.

ART. X.—*The Northern Frontagers of China.* Part IV.—
The Kin or Golden Tatars. By H. H. HOWORTH.

THE new facts collected by M. Gorski clear up a good deal of obscurity about the darker period in the traditions of the Manchus. His conclusions as to their ancestry are, however, quite at one with those which are now universally held, namely, that they are descended from the Kin Tatars, and that their royal family is descended from the Kin Emperors. In the Saga, Aishin Gioro appears among the three families as a stranger and a boy. Are such waifs and strays made into sovereigns in Asia, save when they have some ancestral claims? Is it not probable, rather, that during the Yuen dynasty, which only lasted about eighty-seven years, some members of the old royal stock were hidden away, and when the Mongol power collapsed, re-appeared again among their own people? We know that, notwithstanding the heavy hand which was laid upon it, the Sung Imperial family managed to survive until the days of the Ming, and even through the two hundred years of Ming rule. The only argument to the contrary is one which may be drawn perhaps from a statement in a letter of the Manchu Tai tsun to Su do shu, the defender of Da lin che: "The house of the Ming is not related to that of the Sung, and I am not akin to the dynasty of Kin. That was a peculiar epoch; now it is different."

But, as M. Gorski says, the surroundings of this phrase, and the way in which it is used, show that it was a diplomatic and not a genealogical statement, and its authority is very weak compared to the parallel statement of Tai tsu, who tells us that formerly his "dynasty bore the title of *Chu kin*, but later that of *Dai tsin*." Ssanang Setzen, as I said in my former paper, distinctly says the Manchu Chief was descended from the ancient Altan Khans, *i.e.* the Kin

Emperors, while the Emperor Kien lung says in his orders regarding the publication of the Manchu yuan lu kao: "The founder of the Kin dynasty belonged to the Aimak Wanian, which comprised the country from the Chan po Shan to the river Amur; our dynasty sprang from the same place where the Kin dynasty appeared, and the view of those people is very limited, who, out of exaggerated respect for our dynasty, assert that both houses, though sprung in common from the East, still do not belong to one and the same race. Even the circumstance that our house received the name of Aishin Gioro, while the Kin dynasty styled itself Aishin, is a proof that we are of the same origin" (Gorski, *op. cit.* vol. i. p. 377). In China, Mongolia, and Manchuria, family names are most persistently retained. In the first country this custom has a strong religious sanction in the worship of the ancestors. In the other two, it is dependent upon the very constitution of their society. As M. Gorski says, both among the Kin Tatars and those of Pohai, in the early stages of their history, we find the country governed by a number of petty chiefs; the founders of both these dynasties having been, originally, only co-ordinate chiefs with others, whom they succeeded in subjecting. These chiefs were known as Beile, and these Beile were distinguished, in the days of the Kin, from the common folk, by the title of Lan siun, *i.e.* noble lord. We know, too, how careful the Manchus have been to preserve the genealogical facts with regard to the descent of the members of the eight banners. We may, therefore, be sure that the name Gioro is not given at haphazard to the founder of the dynasty, and that the joining to it of the name Aishin is a clear indication that he was connected with the old Kin Imperial family.

Again, Tsi liu tsi, in his History of Northern China, during the latter part of the Ming period, written in 1671, begins with the words:—"The forty-fourth year of the reign of Wan li, 1616, the first of the reign of Tian min, of the dynasty of Dai Tsin, is the period since which the Manchus first began to recognize China, only as the Southern Court, and Tai tsu began to wear the Yellow robe and to speak of

himself as Chen, *i.e.* "We." At that time the dynasty still called itself, as before, Chu *kin*, and only altered it later to Dai tsin" (*id.* vol. i. p. 377). This is a curious proof that the dynastic name Kin survived, and was used by the royal family of Manchuria even after the accession of the present royal stock—the best proof we could have that the history of the two houses was in fact continuous.

So much for the dynasty. As to the people there is not room for two opinions. Every one who has examined the matter is, so far as I know, agreed that the Manchus are directly descended from the Jurchi. Amiot, in his eulogium on the city of Mukden, tells us the Manchus recognize this ancestry; Visdelou says the Manchus were a small tribe of the race Jurchi, and descended from the Kin (*op. cit.* p. 280); while De Mailla says the Manchus sprang from the Jurchi of Nan Kuan (*op. cit.* vol. x. p. 406). The two peoples sprang from the same part of Manchuria, namely, the neighbourhood of the Great White Mountains and the country at the sources of the river Yalu and to the east of the Khon tung (Remusat, *Les Langues Tartares*, pp. 145, 146).

With regard to their language, the matter was long ago settled in the same manner. It is true that Gaubil (see Remusat's work already quoted), says, that to judge from certain words of the Kin language contained in their history, their language was different to that of the Manchus (*op. cit.* p. 88); but he only cites a very few words. The opposite conclusion was arrived at by Visdelou from a discussion of the vocabulary attached to the Tsze heo teen, which he found contained at least thirty out of eighty-four words which are closely related, and, in fact, almost identical with the corresponding Manchu words (see Visdelou, *op. cit.* p. 288). We must remember also that Visdelou confesses he never knew Manchu well, and that he had hardly studied it for twenty years before he made his comparisons, so that, as he says, the remaining words might easily have formed a part of the Manchu language which was less used (Remusat, *Les Langues Tartares*, p. 147, note). The matter was

finally put to rest by the comparison made by such competent critics as Klaproth, who has given a similar vocabulary from the Kin Shi or "History of the Kin Dynasty," which he published in the *Asia Polyglotta*, pp. 292 and 293, and by Mr. Wylie in his introduction to the translation of the *Tsing wan ke mung*, pp. lxxv. and lxxx.

On the accession of the Ming dynasty, we read of the establishment of a college of translators. This was in 1407. One of these was for the Jurchi language, the others being for the Mongolian, Thibetan, Sanskrit, Bokharese, Uighur, Burmese, and Siamese. It will be remarked there is no interpreter for the tribes of Manchuria other than the Jurchi. In 1470 a fixed number of interpreters was appointed, and the number for the Jurchi was fixed at seven. In 1644 this translational office was revived, two new languages being added for the Pa pih and Pih yih, two tribes of South-western China. In 1659 the interpreters for the Jurchi and Mongol languages were suppressed (*Remusat, op. cit.* pp. 218 and 220, and *Melanges Asiatiques*, vol. ii. pp. 248 and 249). As Mr. Wylie says, the Manchus being actually descended from the Jurchi Tatars, their language is almost identical, and it is probable that by that time the Manchu literature had already supplanted the Jurchi characters (*op. cit.* pp. 5, 6).

Besides these proofs, Visdelou quotes another. He tells us the Jurchi were celebrated for a peculiar kind of hunting, which is now confined entirely to the Manchus. The Manchus affirm that at a certain season of the year a certain stag will form a kind of seraglio in a portion of the forest on the mountains. Presently some other stag, who has not been so lucky, or has been robbed of its mistresses, and is ranging about, enters his domain and challenges him to the combat. The does range themselves in two rows as spectators, and surrender themselves to the victor. Knowing this, the Manchus take a stag's head, and having emptied it, put it over their own, and imitate with an instrument the cry of the stags, and thus approach the stag who is performing the part of Grand Turk. If the latter does not attack too suddenly and furiously, as he sometimes will, he becomes a

prey to the hunter ; otherwise, the game is a very dangerous one, and the Emperor Kanghi, who was much attached to it, once ran a great risk of being killed (Visdelou, p. 292).

I hold it, therefore, to be beyond question that the Manchus are lineally descended from the Golden Tatars.

As we trace the Manchu pedigree to the Kin Tatars, so we may affiliate the Kin Tatars to the Tatars of Pohai, who preceded them in supreme authority in Manchuria. Upon this I shall enlarge in another paper. Here I would merely remark that, while the Manchus are apparently descended directly from the Kin Tatars themselves, the relationship of the latter to the Tatars of Pohai is rather a collateral one. Thus, during the long dynasty of the Tang, the Jurchi of Manchuria were apparently divided into two sections—the Jurchi of the river Sungari and those of the Amur. The former were the founders of the Pohai sovereignty, and to them the latter became tributary. When the kingdom of Pohai was supplanted by the Khitans, the Pohai Tatars, who became subject to the Khitan Emperors, were styled the civilized or tame Jurchi. Their brothers, who now became independent, were styled wild or independent Jurchi. And it is from the latter that the Kin Tatars and the Manchus are descended, and not from the former. This only affects the mere descent in blood, for there can be no doubt that in language, in institutions, and in other qualities, the wild and the civilized Jurchi were the same race, and we are expressly told, in fact, “that the Jurchi and the Pohai, in their origin, constituted but one family.” This phrase occurs in a message delivered by an ambassador of Aguta, the real founder of the Kin dynasty, to the Pohai people (Visdelou, p. 219). As I have said, when the Khitans conquered Pohai, the wild Jurchi became independent, that is, they were not inscribed upon the rolls as Khitan subjects ; although they, no doubt, were tributary. They seem to have occupied all Eastern Manchuria from the borders of Corea to the Amur, and it is from this event that we must date the origin of the Kin royal stock and power. This stock was descended, according to Visdelou’s authority,

from a man called Pu Khan or Bu Khan, who was a Corean by birth (*op. cit.* p. 219); we are otherwise told that he was a Jurchi, who had long lived in Corea, and that he was called Hian pu or Sian fu (Plath, Mandschurey, p. 109; De Mailla, vol. viii. p. 359). He had an elder brother named A ku nai, who remained behind in Corea, refusing to follow him, saying, "Eventually there will be some of my descendants who will follow yours, I cannot do so."

With Pu Khan, who was then sixty years old, went his younger brother Pao ho li. Pu Khan settled with the horde Wanian, which became the royal horde, on the banks of the river Pu kan, while Pao ho li lived at Ye lan (Visdelou, p. 219). De Mailla calls the Pu kan river Kan chui, and tells us the tribe Wanian lived on it (*op. cit.* vol. viii. p. 359). Pu Khan, we are told, lived there for some time.

A member of the tribe Wanian having quarrelled with one of another tribe, a savage war ensued between the two hordes. The Wanian tribe addressed themselves to Pu Khan, and offered, if he would make peace, that they would surrender to him an ancient virgin sixty years old, a wise woman, and would make him their chief. Pu Khan accepted the office of mediator, and urged upon the hostile horde that it was not policy to exact so much bloodshed for the death of one individual, but that they should be content with the payment of a penalty by the tribe Wanian. This was agreed to, and the penalty was fixed at ten pairs of horses, ten cows, ten oxen, and six taels of silver—a composition for death which became the law in future among the Jurchi (De Mailla, *op. cit.* vol. viii. p. 360). Pu Khan was presented with a black ox, and with the ancient virgin, whom he married, giving her the black ox as a wedding gift. By her he had two sons, named Wu lu and Wua lu, and a daughter named Chu se pan (Visdelou, p. 220). This Saga has been manipulated in one element by Klaproth, who has altered lo chi 'sixty,' to chi lo 'sixteen,' as the virgin's age. This is an ingenious alteration, as it is hardly probable that at sixty a virgin would be either a tempting present to a man, or that she would be likely to

be a mother, but all the old authorities, nevertheless, say sixty (Plath, *op. cit.* p. 110, note). The Kin dynasty looked upon Pu Khan as the remote founder of their family, and he was given the title of Chi tsu, or first ancestor (Visdelou, p. 220; De Mailla, vol. viii. p. 360). Wu lu, who was styled Te wang ti, succeeded his father, and was in turn succeeded by Pohai, who was given the posthumous title of Ghan wang ti. He was succeeded by his son Sui kho, who received the title of Hien tsu, *i.e.* wise ancestor. Hitherto, we are told, the wild Jurchi had not used houses, but dug holes in the ground at the feet of the mountains and along the rivers, and covered them over with sods and earth. In these they spent the winter, while in summer they nomadized with their cattle. They often changed their winter dwellings, and had, in fact, no fixed homes. Sui kho persuaded them to plant fixed settlements on the river Hai ku, encouraged agriculture, and introduced houses among them, which they called Na khu li, *i.e.* in their language, the house where one lives, and afterwards fixed his residence on the river An chu ho, *i.e.* the Golden river, which was so called because gold was found there (Visdelou, *loc. cit.*; De Mailla, *id.*).

Sui kho was succeeded by his son Shi lu, who bore the posthumous title of Chao tsu. He is described as constant, brave, simple and just. Hitherto the Jurchi had had no fixed laws among them. He introduced such, and was much opposed in consequence by the grandees, and a conspiracy was formed to kill him; but the conspirators were dispersed by his uncle, Sieliuching, who, we are told, sent a flight of arrows among them. By his wise measures his power was greatly extended, and the Khitan Court conferred on him the title of Tii-in (Plath says, made him a Mandarin (Ti Yu), p. 111.). This was made a fresh grievance by his people, who resented being treated as dependents of the Liau Empire. Shi lu marched against the malcontents, visited the districts of Tsin lin and of the White Mountains, those of San pin and Ye lan, and was everywhere victorious. On his return he passed the country watered by the river Pu

khu. This name means in the language of the country a dangerous abscess, and he accepted it as a bad augury, and, although overpowered by weariness, he refused to rest there; he passed on, and arrived at the plain of Ku li. While resting for the night, he fell ill, and, notwithstanding, had to make a retreat, as he was attacked by a band of robbers. He at length reached the village of Fu la kii, where he died (Visdelou, *op. cit.* pp. 220, 221). De Mailla says he died at Pe se tsi. His little army, having placed his corpse in a coffin, retired with it. It was overtaken by robbers, who attacked it and captured the coffin. The robbers were pursued, and it was recaptured. Pu hu, the chief of the tribe Kia ku, afterwards tried to surprise it, but it escaped (Visdelou, p. 221). A good deal of this account is, no doubt, exaggerated. The empire of Po hai, which had dominated in Manchuria for a long time, was a very flourishing empire, and we cannot doubt that the Jurchi were at this time much more civilized than would appear from these notices. This is in fact confessed in the Chinese accounts, where we read that, inasmuch as they had no writing, it is impossible to say how the men of this period lived (Visdelou, p. 221), and the picture we thus derive of the state of culture is largely imaginary.

Shi lu was succeeded by his son U ku nai, who bore the posthumous title of Kin tsu. He was born in the year 1021, and gradually extended the power of his kingdom. We are told that some fugitives from the Khitans took refuge within his borders. The Tiele and the Uge tribes also did so. The Khitans had had the intention of transporting them to form a colony. The Khitan Emperor having sent an army in pursuit of the fugitives, U ku nai, who feared that, if the enemy entered his country, they might learn its weakness, and at some other time appropriate it, sent them word that if they entered the land it would cause much disquiet and frighten the inhabitants, and undertook himself to make the fugitives submit. On another occasion, when most of the neighbouring tribes had submitted to him, Che hien, of the tribe U lin da, which lived on the river Hailan, still held out.

U ku nai having attacked him without success, persuaded the Khitan Emperor to send his rival a summons. Che hien sent his son, Po chu Khan, to the Khitan Court: there he was well received, and covered with favours. When Che hien, a few years later, accompanied his son on another visit to the same Court, the Emperor retained him, and sent his son back to govern the horde. This was all managed, we are told, by the intrigues of U ku nai (Visdelou, p. 221).

Some time after, Pa yi men, who is called viceroy of the horde Fu nie, belonging to the Five Kingdoms, by Visdelou, (*loc. cit.*), and chief of the horde Ukuépunié, of the Liau Tatars, by De Mailla (vol. viii. p. 362), rebelled against the Khitans, and cut off the route by which they went to capture birds of prey (for falconry) on the borders of the sea. The Emperor, having determined to punish him, communicated his design to U ku nai, who suggested he should try a ruse, saying, that if he employed force, he would escape to some inaccessible place. U ku nai's real fear was that the Khitans should enter his own dominions. He undertook to capture the rebel, and feigning to be his friend, he gave him his own wife and children as hostages, and afterwards surprised him and presented him to the Emperor, who thereupon gave a grand feast in U ku nai's honour, and made him presents. He also gave him the title of Tsie tu se, meaning, in Chinese, Generalissimo of the Wild Jurchi, with an official seal; but U ku nai, who did not wish to become a dependent of his powerful neighbour, refused the seal, and said it was not yet time. As the Khitans pressed the seal upon him, and sent deputies to take it to him, he caused a false rumour to be spread among his people that they intended to put him to death if he submitted to be enrolled among the Khitan subjects, and under cover of this, dexterously refused it. At this time, we are told, the Wild Jurchi had no iron, and they sold their goods and bought helmets and cuirasses at a high price from their neighbours. U ku nai obliged his brothers' children and relatives to lay in a large stock of iron. This he forged into weapons, and he so increased his power, that several tribes voluntarily submitted

to him, among others two tribes of Wanhien. He is described as clement and debonnaire; he was singularly free from excitement and from frailties of temper; he was generous and forgiving.

Having been deserted by certain of his subjects, he sent people in pursuit with orders to bring them back by persuasion. "Your master is a brave holo," they replied; "we know how to catch holos, but how can we submit to a holo?" The holo was the Tsi niao of the Chinese, *i.e.* the Charitable Bird. (It is found in the north, and resembles, says the narrative of Visdelou, a great fowl. It perches on the backs of cattle, horses, and camels, when abscesses form on their backs; these it pierces with its bill, and shortly the victims die. If it finds nothing else to eat, it will even eat sand and stones.) U ku nai was addicted to wine and women, and was very gluttonous. It was this which gained him the name Holo, and gave point to the raillery of the fugitives. U ku nai disregarded the gibes, and when, some time after, the scoffers were obliged to submit to him, he gave them presents, and sent them home again. This policy gained him much confidence.

In 1072 a horde of the Five Kingdoms (they were also Jurchi, says Visdelou, and were probably the civilized Jurchi) rebelled against the Liao; U ku nai declared war against them. Sie ye gave assistance to Po kin, chief of the rebels. He was defeated by U ku nai, who pursued him for a long time. Eventually he went to find the commander of the Liao garrisons, named To lu ku, and informed him of the defeat of Sie ye, but before he could meet him he fell ill, returned home and died. He was then fifty-four years old. He left nine children, namely, Hai che, He li pu, Hai sun, Polassu, Inku, Hechinpao, Mapu, Alihoman, and Mantuhon (De Mailla, vol. viii. p. 362). Visdelou tells us it was a universal custom among the wild Jurchi, that the children, when they grew up, separated from one another, and each one lived in his own house. He also tells us that U ku nai's chief wife was called Tham kuo, and that she was the mother of five of his sons, whom he calls Hai che, He li pu, Hai sun, Su

tsun, and Mu tsun. When these were old enough to separate, we are told, their father spoke thus and said, "Hai che is of a sweet and amiable disposition; he ought to be a family man. He li pu is magnanimous, wise, and brave; of what is he not capable? Hai sun is also sweet and good." He then ordered Hai che and He li pu to live together, and desired that Hai sun and Su tsun should not separate. On the death of U ku nai, He li pu, whose posthumous title was Che tsau, succeeded him. He was born in 1039, and in 1074 succeeded his father as Tsie tu se. Hardly had he mounted the throne, when Pohí, a younger brother of his father by another mother, conspired against him. In order to gain him over, Che tsau gave him command of a horde, but to prevent him doing mischief did not let him control any soldiers. This partial confidence did not suffice, and Pohí allied himself with Huan man (the Hoannan of De Mailla), the son of Yata, a minister of He li pu, Santa, Uchun, and Omohan, and excited a civil war. Che tsau lost two battles, and then demanded peace. Peace was granted, on condition that he surrendered two famous horses he had in his stables. This he refused, and fought again, and to animate his soldiers, took off his cuirass and struggled desperately, killing nine persons with his own hand. He won a complete victory, pursuing the enemy to the desert of Peatien, and we are told that, from the number of those who were killed near the river Putoto, its waters were discoloured with blood. He captured a great number of chariots, horses, cattle, and provisions. His clemency after the battle brought the rebels to terms, and Hoannan and Santa submitted. This battle was won in 1091. Pei nai, chief of the horde Walé, drew away Uchun and Omohan, but Pulassu, Che tsau's brother, defeated him, took him prisoner, and sent him to the Khitan Tatars (De Mailla, vol. viii. p. 363). Visdelou seems to say that the two rebels were defeated by Che tsau in person, and that he received four wounds. Two other rebels named Po chu khan and Laopei were also captured and sent as prisoners to the Khitan Emperor. He afterwards asked for their surrender, and they were returned,

together with all the other prisoners whom he had sent. On one occasion, we are told, an assassin attempted to kill him, and his people fled. He captured him with his own hands, and pardoned him, but he punished his followers (Visdelou, p. 223). He now fell ill; his chief wife, Nalan, cried incessantly. "Do not cry," he said, "you will only survive me a year." When his brother Su tsun urged him to make a will, he told him that he would only survive him three years. He afterwards summoned his brother Mu tsun and said to him, referring to his own sons, "U ya sho is sweet and good, but Aguta is the man to terminate the matter with the Liau." He died in 1092, on the 15th of the fifth month, at the age of fifty-four years, after having reigned nineteen years. The year after, his widow, Nalan, died, as he had prophesied, and the year after that his brother Su tsun (*id.*). Che tsau is described as endowed with great prudence and a great memory. He was very callous to cold, fought without a cuirass, and prophesied the issue of battles from dreams. One day, when drunk, he mounted a donkey, and thus entered his room. The following day, seeing traces of the donkey about, he inquired about it, and afterwards gave up drinking. He was succeeded in his title of Tsie tu se by his brother Pu la su, who bore the posthumous title of Su tsun. He was born in 1042, and had borne the Chinese title of Kue sian, or "Chief Minister of State," under his father and elder brother. Ya ta, the father of the rebels Hoannan and Santa, had borne it jointly with him. He had governed with great wisdom, had assisted his brother in his victories, was intimately acquainted with Khitan affairs, and discovered that the officials of that empire were in the habit of deceiving him. He recorded their statements on pieces of wood and tiles in the form of counters, confessing that he was not a lettered man. Having proceeded against Ma chan, who had rebelled, and having captured him, he surrendered him to the Liau Emperor. In 1093 he restored peace in his dominions with the assistance of his nephew Aguta, whom he made commander of his army. He died the following year.

Su tsun was succeeded by his brother In ku, whose praenomen was U lu wan, and his posthumous title Mu tsun. He was born in 1052, and was forty-two years old when he succeeded his brother as Tsie tu se. He made Sa khai, son of his elder brother, Hai che, his prime minister. In 1054 Po gha po ghin, of the tribe Tan kuo, and a former friend of Pote, of the tribe Wen tu, having quarrelled with the latter, killed him. Mu tsun gave some troops to his nephew Aguta, who captured and put the assassin to death (*Visdelou, op. cit. p. 224*). Soon after, Asu and Maotulo, of the tribe Hechelic, which lived on the river Sin hien, rebelled against him. He marched in person against them, and his prime minister captured the town of Tun ghen chin. Asu thereupon fled to the Liau Emperor. Mu tsun meanwhile retired, but he left Hai ché with a garrison in the captured town.

Some rebel tribes of the Five Kingdoms having cut off the route by which the Khitans were accustomed to go in search of birds of prey, Mu tsun marched against them. Akopan, who was the rebel leader, seized on a strong position, and fortified it with palisades. It was then very cold. Mu tsun speedily captured it, employing some excellent archers in the attack. He released some Khitan envoys and sent them home. He afterwards defeated some confederated rebels, capturing the town of Milimiche han. He spared the lives of the rebel chiefs. Sakhai and Aguta captured the chief town of the chief Leou kho, who had meanwhile escaped to the Khitans. The inhabitants were put to the sword. U ta, another rebel, also fled, and his town surrendered, as well as Che tu, and peace was at length secured.

In 1100 Mao tu lo surrendered to Hai ché, who was still in command of the town of Asu. The latter, having remained at the Khitan Court, had pressed upon the Emperor to restore him to his former position. The Emperor sent one of his officers named Ki liei, with an escort of several hundred horsemen, to reinstate him. Mu tsun, on his side, sent word to his brother to treat these messengers diplomatically, not

to heed the command of the Khitan envoy, and not to lay down his arms. He also sent Hu lu po ghin and Mao sien po ghin (po ghin was a title among them) of the horde Pu cha to conduct the envoy to Asu's town. Its commandant, Hache, who, as I have said, was Mu tsun's brother, went down on his knees before the Imperial deputy; then addressing himself to Hu lu and Mao sien, he attacked them for interfering in his affairs, and buried his lance in their horses, which fell dead. The deputy of the Khitans was alarmed and fled. Hache thereupon captured the rebel towns, and having found Tii ku pao, who had returned from his embassy to the Liau, in one of them, he had him put to death. Asu once more renewed his complaints to the Khitan Emperor, who sent the Tsie tu se of the Hii, named Yi li, to inquire. Mu tsun went as far as the village of Hin ho to meet him. Yi li urged him to make some recompense to Asu, but he replied, that if he did so, he could not restrain his own people. He secretly induced two of his hordes, namely those of Chun-wei and Tota, to seize the road by which the Khitans went annually to catch falcons, etc. He also let it be known to the Khitans by a Tsie tu se named Pie ku te, that if this road was to be re-opened, it was by means of himself. The Khitans, who did not know that the whole thing was a ruse planned by himself, followed his advice, and nothing more was said about Asu's town. Mu tsun pretended to march against the two tribes, but he soon returned. The same year Leou kho submitted to him. In 1101 the Liau Emperor sent presents for him and those who had assisted him in keeping the route open. The next year he sent on these gifts by the hands of Pu kia nu to the tribes which had assisted him so well by closing them, and reserved nothing for himself (Visdelou, pp. 225 and 226, De Mailla, vol. viii. p. 365). About this time one of the chief officers of the Liau, named Siao haïli, rebelled against his sovereign, and took refuge with the Atien, a tribe of the wild Jurchi. He sent his relative, Wadala, to ask Mu tsun to take up arms against the Liau, but Mu tsun, who did not think the time opportune,

had him seized. According to De Mailla he put him to death. Visdelou says he sent him to the Liau Emperor and then prepared for war. He captured 1000 cuirassiers from Siao haïli, with whom Aguta, the nephew of Mu tsun, boasted he would undertake any enterprise. The Khitan army was 7000 or 8000 strong. It had attacked the rebel several times, but had been defeated, and Mu tsun, who began to despise the Khitans, bade their generals go home. Siao haïli, who, now that he only had the Jurchi to deal with, thought a victory was secure, offered battle. Aguta greatly distinguished himself. Making straight for Siao haïli, he shot an arrow, which unhorsed him, and then captured him. This dispirited his people, who fled. Mu tsun decapitated his prisoner, and sent his head to the Khitan Emperor (De Mailla, vol. viii. p. 366). He also sent him the prisoners he had taken, and went in person to him. He was richly rewarded with presents. But this campaign had opened his eyes, and he had discovered how weak the Khitans really were. By the advice of Aguta, he introduced new laws among the wild Jurchi, and conquered several neighbouring districts; among them, on the south-east, were the countries of Tsieni, of Liku, of Holan, and of Yelan, as far as Chikulon; on the north as far as Ukue; and he also conquered the country of Wei tuta.

Although a section of the Jurchi had formerly been subject to the Coreans, we are told there had latterly been little intercourse between them, and a Corean officer, who went to their country, was surprised at the change which had come about, by which a race, formerly so barbarous, had been reduced to good order. On his return home, he advised his sovereign to enter into communication with them. This counsel was accepted, and from this time the Coreans, who have ever been a secluded race, began again to trade with the Jurchi. Mu tsun died on the 29th of the ninth month of 1103, at the age of fifty-one years.

The Emperor Che tsau had left eleven sons, namely, Uyasu, Aguta, Hantai, Otsimai, Sheyé, Wuasai, Waché, Ukimai, Shemu, Chachi, and Uta (De Mailla, vol. viii. 364). On the death of Mu tsun, he was succeeded by the eldest of

these his nephews, namely Uyasu, who is called Uyasan by Visdelou. His prænomen was Maulhwan, and his posthumous title Khan tsun. He was born in 1061, and succeeded to the title of Tsie tu se at the age of 43. He had reduced to obedience a horde which had rebelled in the last year of Mu tsun. Soon after his accession he sent Shetiwan with some troops into the country of Holantien, where he captured seven towns and caused some excitement among the Coreans, who feared for their own interests, and offered to mediate. Shetiwan accepted their mediation, and sent one of his officers, named Peilu, to the Corean king. The Holantien also sent two envoys to represent them; but the Coreans put them under arrest, nor would they allow Peilu to pass their frontier. The horde of Wosai or Ushui, having submitted, the Coreans surprised fourteen of the Jurchi, and proceeded to attack Shetiwan, who, however, defeated them, and pursued them to the borders of Pitchenchui. The Coreans, who were frightened, returned the fourteen prisoners, and demanded peace, which was granted them by Peilu. This was in 1106 (De Mailla, vol. viii. p. 367; Visdelou, p. 226). In 1108 the King of Corea sent to compliment Khan tsun on his accession. The Coreans afterwards attacked and defeated Wosai, and built nine fortresses in his country. Wo lu built others opposite those of the Coreans. The latter returned, and again defeated Wosai, but eventually they made peace and abandoned the forts they had built. In 1109 the drought was so great that thieves were permitted to redeem their lives, so that the price might be used in relieving the poor (Visdelou, *loc. cit.*).

We now come to an incident which precipitated the destruction of the Khitan Empire. We are told that in 1112 the Khitan Emperor went to the district of Chun chau, to fish in the river Hon tong, the Hoen tun of Visdelou. According to custom, the chiefs of the wild Jurchi repaired to him there.

Among them was Aguta. As was wont, the Emperor gave a grand feast when the first fish was caught. In the midst of the feast, and when the wine had risen to his head, the

Emperor, advancing to the balustrade, ordered the Jurchi princes to dance one after another. This they did, except Aguta, who refused, and said sharply, and showing that he felt insulted, that he did not know how to dance. Some days after, the Emperor remarked to Siao fong sien, his chief minister of war, that Aguta was clearly a very vigorous and dangerous person, and that it was dangerous to let him live. Siao fong sien replied that Aguta's manner was brusque and rude, but that he had not committed any crime worthy of punishment, and that if he was put to death without better cause, the Jurchi would rebel; while he urged that even if his designs were bad, he had not the power to injure the empire. On his return home, Aguta, who was persuaded that the Khitan Emperor meant to repress him, and who had seen how addicted to dissipation the Khitan Court was, began to make preparations to increase the number of his troops, and to train them more effectually.

Visdelou dates this anecdote in 1122, but De Mailla, with much more probability, in 1112, as at the former date the Khitan Empire had been considerably shattered and broken. Khan tsun died in 1113, at the age of 53, and Aguta, his brother, placed himself on the throne, with the title Tupukiliei, which meant, in the Jurchi tongue, commander-in-chief with absolute authority.

Aguta, who, in the course of his adventurous life, raised his people from being a petty kingdom of Manchuria, to a most important position among the Asiatic powers, was naturally the centre of much romantic legend. Thus we are told that during the reign of Liau tao tsun there appeared in the East a cloud of the five rainbow colours, repeated several times. It had the form of a round mill, with a capacity of two thousand measures of grain. Khun cli ho, who was at the head of the mathematical bureau, prophesied that there would appear in the district shaded by the cloud a famous hero, whom no human power could resist. Aguta was born in 1068, and his mother's name was Na lan. When Che tsau was still ill from the four wounds he received at Ye tsie, he took the boy Aguta on his knee, and foretold

that he would prove a great man. He became a famous archer, and showed his taste for arms when he was only 10 years old. One day, in the presence of some Khitan envoys, he killed three birds which were flying past with three successive arrows. On another occasion, after feasting at the house of Woli han, of the horde Hechelie, he challenged the company to shoot at a hillock in the distance. None succeeded in shooting as far except himself, who shot over it, and when measured the distance was found to be 320 paces; while Mantu, a relative of his, who was deemed the best archer of his day, was 100 paces behind him. In 1151 this feat was commemorated in an engraved monument. He accompanied Che tsau in his war against Pu hoei, which had revolted, and distinguished himself. On another occasion, U nin han, having rebelled after his submission to U chin, was besieged in his capital. Aguta, who was then 23 years old, took a short cuirass, but neither helm nor a horse in armour, and in this costume made the circuit of the town, to encourage the troops which were attacking the place. One of the besieged, named Tai yu, having seen him, put his lance in rest and charged at him. Aguta was taken unawares, and was saved by his uncle Holahu, who took the enemy in flank and killed his horse with his lance. Tai yu himself barely escaped. With such Homeric touches of personal encounter the narrative continues.

On the death of Che tsau, Aguta became the trusted confidant of his successor, Mu tsun. Che tsau had captured the rebel Kopei, but Machan had escaped, and fortified himself on the river Chewokai. Mu tsun gave some troops to Aguta, with orders to seize the family of Machan, while the latter himself was being attacked by Khan tsun; but Aguta succeeded in capturing the rebel himself, and presented him to the Khitan Emperor, who gave him, Mu tsun, Tse pu che, and Mantu, each the title of Tsian wen. Some time after, Aguta marched against Po he po, Lekhai, and other chiefs of the horde Nimanghu, and chose Ta tu gha for his guide. He marched during the night along the river Chuai, and surprised the enemy, and captured the wives and

children of the rebels. On another occasion, Po te, of the tribe Wentu, having killed Pa kha, of the tribe Tan kuo, Mu tsun ordered him to march and punish him. Before he set out he dreamt that a red spectre visited him, and he held this to be a presage of victory. The season was very severe, and there was much snow. Taking with him some men of the tribe U ku lun, he followed the river Tu wen, and having arrived at the town of Molin, he encountered Pa te between the mountain Se wen and the lake Pe lo, and there killed him. Mu tsun went to meet him on his return as far as the town Ghai kien.

Meanwhile Sa khai, who had the rank of Tu tun, was attacking Leou kho, and Man tu kha, in alliance with She tu men, was attacking Ti khu te.

Sa khai consulted with his officers about matters, and there was a disagreement among them. Some advised an immediate advance on Leou kho, but others counselled first securing the towns and fortresses of the tribes on the frontier. Aguta was asked to go and decide. Mu tsun suspected that there was something behind this quarrel. He nevertheless let his brother go, entrusting him with the small force he had by him, consisting only of seventy equipped soldiers. Man tu kha was then occupied in besieging the town of Mi li mi han, and She tu men had not yet arrived. The former's soldiers wished to seize him and hand him over to the enemy. He despatched couriers to Aguta, who sent forty of his small army to his assistance, while with the remaining thirty he marched on to assist Sa khai. On the way he learnt that the enemy had seized the road south of Mount Pen nie, and his advisers accordingly wished him to advance by the mountain Sha pien, but he marched on and met none of the foe. Having joined Sa khai, they pressed the enemy during the night with repeated attacks, and at daybreak captured the town. Leou kho and U ta fled to the Khitans. Aguta having taken the town of the former, next attacked that of the latter, which he had passed on his march, and whose inhabitants, in a sortie, had then captured some of his men and also his stoves. He had accordingly halted and shouted

to them with a loud voice, "At least spare my cooking utensils." They replied, mocking him, "If you return this way, as you fear, you may have need of food!" In answer to these jeers, Aguta, when he had taken the town of Leou kho, marched against Uta. Its people went out to meet him with the stoves and pans in their hands, and submitted humbly. After capturing these two towns, Aguta sent Pu kia nu to summon Cha tu to surrender. He did so, and Aguta gave him his liberty (Visdelou, p. 230).

Mu tsun having determined, on another occasion, to make war on Siao hai li, found he had more than 1000 men, a number which the Jurchi had never before got together. Aguta was much elated, and cried out, "What could not one do with such an army?" In this war the Jurchi were assisted by the Khitans; but Aguta, who wished to receive all the glory of it for himself, ordered them to stay behind while he went on. Before the fight the vice-Emperor of Pohai offered Aguta a cuirass, which he refused. When Mu tsun asked why he did so, he replied that if he won a battle in a Khitan cuirass, they would appropriate the glory of it. By the advice of Aguta, Mu tsun, in the latter part of his reign, forbade any one except himself to issue patents of office.

He also established courts of justice, and a system of posting. When, in the seventh year of the reign of Khan tsun, there was a famine, and many of the poor people became robbers, Huan tu suggested that severe measures should be employed to put them down. "We should not kill men for the sake of riches," said Aguta, "for riches are the fruit of men's labour." The punishment of death was therefore abolished for these offences, and it was decreed that the thieves should repay the value of what they had taken three-fold. The people became terribly involved in debt, and sold their wives and children to redeem them. Khan tsun took counsel with his officers as to what should be done. Aguta, who was in another room, put a piece of taffeta on a pole, and making a signal to the people, suggested that for three years creditors should abstain from enforcing their

debts, at the end of which time some measures should be devised. Aguta's proposal was very well received, and he became a universal favourite.

Before he died, Khan tsun dreamt that he was hunting wolves, that he fired several arrows at one without hitting it, while Aguta, who followed him, killed with the first shot. On asking for an interpretation of the dream from his officers, they replied that Aguta would carry out what he had tried to do and had failed. He died the same year.

Aguta succeeded his brother, and was appointed to the dignity of Tupukiliei. He failed to inform the Khitan Emperor of his accession, as was customary. The latter sent A si pao to remonstrate, upon which he replied that he was still mourning for his brother. Some time after, A si pao having ridden into the enclosure where the body was for the time deposited, and wishing to appropriate some of the beautiful horses which had been put there as funeral gifts, Aguta had him arrested, and would have decapitated him if Tsun hiun (De Mailla calls him Mo hian hu, the eldest son of Uyasso or Khan tsun) had not restrained him. The Khitan Emperor was a debauchee, and gave little heed to affairs of state. He was very fond of hunting, and each year an expedition was sent across the country of the Jurchi to search for falcons. Those who composed it were in the habit of behaving badly, and of laying hands on the goods of the inhabitants. This was naturally a grievance. Another grievance they had against the Khitan authorities was that they had harboured a refugee named Asu, about whom I have already spoken. He plotted secretly with Inchukha and Tse li han, his nephews, who had some secret arrangements with Hoen tu and Pu so yu, inhabitants of the country of Nan kiang, and all four went to Corea. The matter having been discovered, they were pursued. Inchukha and Tse li han had already been captured by the Khitan garrisons. Hoen tu and Pu so yu succeeded in reaching Corea. Sa khai, who had been sent after them by Aguta, seized their wives and children, and sent them to his master. In the second year of his reign, Aguta went to the country

of Kiang si, where the Khitan envoys took him the patents of Tsie tu se and acknowledged his rightful succession. When he had received them, he despatched Pu kia nu to demand the surrender of Asu.

Some time after, he sent another embassy on the same errand, which was headed by Si ku ni, who reported the state of decrepitude and licence to which the empire was reduced. Aguta accordingly summoned his officers and notables, and disclosed to them his intention of making war on the Khitans. He ordered the roads to be mended, the town walls to be repaired, and arms to be forged. The Khitan viceroy sent him a Tsie tu se named Tan kho, to demand explanations; he merely replied that he was fortifying what he meant to keep. Shortly after, the Emperor himself sent A si pao to remonstrate with him. He replied that his was a small nation compared to the Empire; yet it had fulfilled its duties to that Empire honourably, while the latter had, on the contrary, offered an asylum to fugitives from him. He inquired if he had not, therefore, good cause to complain, and promised, if Asu were returned to him, to continue to pay tribute and to do homage, but if not, he must have recourse to arms. The Khitan Emperor laughed at these menaces, but he put his frontier in a state of defence. He ordered Siao-ta-bu-ye to assemble some troops in the town of Nin kiang chau. Aguta, on his side, sent Pu kuo under pretence of redemanding the surrender of Asu, but really to watch the enemy. On his return, he reported that the Khitan troops were very numerous. Aguta disbelieved this, as they had only just commenced to muster. He accordingly sent Hu che pao to report, but he told the same story as Pu kuo. He accordingly determined to attack them, and not to wait to be attacked. He went to see his mother, who encouraged him, and bade him be prudent. Pleased with her opinion of him, he burst into tears, and having filled a bowl with wine, he drank long health to her, and afterwards, accompanied by his mother and all his officers, he went to offer his respects to "the August Heaven and Mother Earth." After reciting that the Khitans had given

themselves up to debauchery, had refused to surrender Asu, and were preparing to attack him, he poured wine out on the ground as a libation, and then gave his officers a feast (Visdelou, pp. 232, 233). Having formed a plan of campaign with Niyamoho and Kochin, he put Inclukha, Leouché and Muché at the head of his army, and sent word to Lanlu and Akunai to go and join him. Waluku and Alu received orders to induce the Wahu and the Kissai to attack the Khitans on two sides, while Sheputiei was sent to the country of Wantulu to seize the Khitan mandarins who took care of the falcons (De Mailla, vol. viii. p. 371). He sent Po lu hu to take charge of the troops which Tii ku nai commanded in the province of Ye lan. The chief of the tribe Taluku, having sent to ask him whose side he ought to take in the impending struggle, he replied, that though his own army was small, it consisted of veterans, while it would be a neighbourly act to assist him. Nevertheless, if he was afraid of the Khitans, he could take their side.

At length Aguta set out on his march, and advanced to Liau hoei, where Po lu hu should have met him, but he had not yet arrived. He had him bastinadoed for having failed to keep his appointment punctually. He reviewed his army on the banks of the river Lai leou, and found that it numbered 2500! Having once more recited his wrongs against the Khitans, how his ancestors had served them faithfully, and paid their tribute regularly; how his people had assisted in quelling the troubles caused by Uchun and Wo mu han, and defeated the army of Siao hai li, which favours had been repaid by tyrannous acts; and lastly, how they had refused to surrender the rebel Asu; he invoked the vengeance of heaven and earth against them (Visdelou, p. 233). Having commanded silence among the soldiers, he harangued them, and told them to act bravely, that those who were slaves among them should become free men, while the privates should become officers, and that everybody should be promoted according to his merits, while those who failed in their duty should be bastinadoed to death, and their families should also suffer. The army then advanced again; when it arrived

at Tai wo kia, the soldiers drew their arrows and arranged themselves in order of battle. Then sprang up flames of fire from under their feet, which also appeared at the points of their weapons. This was accepted as a good augury. The following day, the Jurchi reached the river Cho chi, where the same portents were repeated. At the Khitan frontier, which they now approached, Aguta ordered the soldiers under the command of Tsun gho ta to level the roads and fill up the ditches. Shortly after, the troops of Yu po hai attacked seven Muke, *i.e.* companies, of the left wing of the Jurchi army, and forced them back.

The Khitans then pressed their attack on the main army. Two Khitan champions, named Sie ye and Che tie, left their ranks and advanced in front. Aguta sent Tsun wo to capture them, but they retired pursued by the Jurchi. Upon this the horse of Ye lu sie che, the Khitan governor of Pohai, fell under him. One of his men went to the rescue, but Aguta killed him with one arrow, and wounded his master with another. He also shot another Khitan officer, who rushed to the rescue, through and through, and ended by hitting Ye lu sie che with another arrow in the back, which killed him, and Aguta secured his horse. He fought without a helmet, and was wounded in the forehead by an arrow, which wound he avenged by killing the archer who shot it. His son, Tsun wo, having been surrounded, he rushed to his assistance, and a terrible struggle ensued. Orders were issued to give the Khitans no quarter, and seven or eight out of every ten in their army perished.

Aguta's cousin, Sakhai, the son of his uncle, Hai che (Visdelou, p. 224), who was one of his most redoubtable chiefs, was not present on this occasion, and Aguta sent him news of his victory and also sent him Ye lu sie che's horse as a present. Sakhai sent his son Iniamoho with Koshin to congratulate him, and offer him the title of emperor. He replied that it would be presumptuous to take such a title after but one victory.

After the battle, he marched his troops to Ning kiang chau, to which he laid siege vigorously. The inhabitants made a

sortie, and were defeated by Wen ti leang and A du han, who planted themselves between them and the town, and slaughtered them all. It was soon after taken (Visdelou, p. 235; De Mailla, vol. viii. p. 372).

On the first day of the tenth month, the tribe Tieli submitted. Aguta encamped near the town Lai Leou, where he distributed the booty and cattle, which they had captured, among his troops. He summoned Leang fu and Wo ta la, and ordered them to pretend to desist, but in reality to go and ask the Pohai Tatars, their fellow-countrymen, to join the Jurchi. "Tell them," he said, "that the Pohai and the Jurchi are one race, and that in the war which is impending I will not confound the innocent with the guilty." He also sent Wan nian leou chi to make proposals to the tame or civilized Jurchi, who were subjects of the Khitans.

On his return home, he went to salute his mother, and distributed some of the spoil among his relatives and the elders of the people; and divided the goods of Che li kuan, the chief of the horde Taluku, who had held aloof from him, as I have said, among his soldiers.

The Jurchi, we are told, had to pay no taxes; they employed themselves neither in trade nor in manufactures, but lived by hunting and fishing only. Each man provided his own horse, his arms, and baggage. The chiefs of the various hordes were styled Po ghin, but when they were on the march they held military rank, and were styled Mongan (the Mуган of Visdelou) and Meouké. Mongan, says De Mailla, meant in their language, a Khiliarch, or commander of 1000 men, and Meouké a centurion (De Mailla, *op. cit.* vol. viii. pp. 372, 373). Aguta appointed a centurion or Meouké to each 300 families, and a Mуган over each ten Meoukés.

Cheou wo was sent to pacify the Jurchi of the river Tsan mu. The chief of the Piekü, called Husolu, submitted, and gave up his town.

When the news of the capture of Ning kiang chau reached the Khitan Court, a meeting of the Council was summoned. A leading Chinese, who was present, remarked that the Jurchi were brave and skilful soldiers, while the

Khitans had lost their ancient prowess; and that, although the former was only a small and weak power, it was not prudent to contemn them, but that a large army should march against them to overawe them (De Mailla, vol. viii. p. 373). Siao kean li, who was a Tu tun or lieutenant-general (he is called Siao Sesien by De Mailla), with his lieutenant Siao Tabuye, accordingly assembled an army of 100,000 men. De Mailla says the latter commanded 3000 Khitans from the country of Hii, and 7000 Imperial troops. These troops were assembled on the northern banks of the river Ya tse ho, a tributary of the Hoen tun kiang. Aguta marched against them. When he arrived at the Ya tse, it was night, and he went to rest. Hardly had he gone to sleep when he felt his head raised three times. De Mailla says, that as he rested his head on his horse, he felt a pull, and heard his name called out three times. Deeming this to be a supernatural call, he rose, ordered the torches to be lighted and the drums to sound the advance. At daybreak he arrived at the river-side. Although only a portion of his men had arrived, he ordered an attack to be made on the Liau positions, but he was favoured by a strong wind, which raised a great dust. He attacked the enemy near the village of Chu ho tien, and completely defeated him, pursuing him as far as the lake Wolun. A great number of the Khitans were killed, and a large booty was captured. Aguta afterwards gave a feast to his soldiers. At another point Wolu defeated the Khitans in another struggle, and killed Ta bu ye, their Tsie tu se, Pu hoei, and other general officers. He also attacked the town of Pin chau. Uge and Tsan hu she went to him and submitted. Che kheou, the Khitan commander, having offered battle near Pin chau, was defeated by Pu hoei and Hoen chu. De Mailla says merely that the Jurchi captured the towns of Pin chau, Siang chau, and Hien chau (*op. cit.* vol. viii. p. 374). Hoei li pao (De Mailla calls him Hi hoei li pao), chief of the Tie li, submitted, while Che kheou, who had been already defeated by Siao yi sie, was again beaten, to the east of the town of Tsian chau, by U tu pu pu cha. The two provinces of Wohu and Kii sai having

submitted, Woluku defeated another Khitan army to the west of Hien chau, and cut off its commander's head. The town of Hien chau was afterwards captured by Wanianleouche (Visdelou, p. 236).

This same year Ukimai, Sakhai, and Tsepuche, went to Aguta, and pressed him to adopt some Imperial title; but he refused, upon which Ali ha men, Pu kia nu, Tsun han, and the greater part of his officers, again pressed him to do so. He then said he would consider about it, and at length, on the first day of the year 1115, he accepted the title of Wang ti or Emperor. At the same time he addressed his followers in these terms: "The Khitans gave their dynasty the name Liau, which means steel of very fine temper, intending, in doing so, to affirm that the dynasty would be as durable as steel; but, however durable, steel is liable to rust. There is only gold among the metals which is imperishable; again, gold, among the five metals, answers to white among the five colours, and that is the colour which the tribe Wanian, to which I belong, uses as its guerdon. I therefore give my dynasty the name Kin (*i.e.* in Chinese, Golden)." The Jurchi equivalent for Kin was Altan, whence the name given to the Kin Emperors by the Mongols and others. According to another account, cited by Visdelou, Aguta adopted the name Kin for his people from the great quantity of gold found in his old country, whence the river which watered it was called the An chu hu, *i.e.* river of gold.

Aguta now marched in person to attack Hoang lung fu, and approached on his route the town of Yichau, the greater part of whose inhabitants had fled to the former city. Those who remained behind were carried off. Leaving Leou she and Inchukha to blockade Hoang lung fu, he himself went on by forced marches to attack To lu ku. On the route he encamped at Nin kiang chau. There he received an embassy from the Khitans (Visdelou, p. 236). The Khitan Emperor, who was beginning to be afraid of the Jurchi successes, sent an embassy, headed by Sen kia nu, to propose peace to Aguta, and recognizing him as chief of the

Jurchi. The latter replied that peace was out of the question until the fugitive Asu was surrendered (De Mailla, vol. viii. p. 375). Visdelou says that he was annoyed at being called Aguta, and not having the Imperial title given him, and he continued his march. The Khitans had posted an army of 200,000 cavalry, and 70,000 foot-soldiers, under the orders of Yelu walito, on the frontier, to keep guard against the Jurchi. As they marched, the Jurchi saw a fiery ball fall across the sky. Aguta, or Tai tsu, as he is now called in the Chinese history, pronounced this to be a happy augury, poured out a libation of water, and saluted the sky on his knees, while the army jumped and shouted for joy. Having mounted a hill, the enemy's army was stretched out, says the rhetorical Chinese writer, like an immense bank of clouds or a deluge of water. He reassured his followers by telling them that this vast army was not attached to its sovereign, but wishful, on the contrary, to break with him (De Mailla, vol. viii. p. 375). He then ranged his men in order of battle. Mu lian hu, called Tsung hiung by Visdelou, who commanded the right wing, rushed on the left wing of the Khitans and defeated it. The right wing of the Khitans, however, held its ground more firmly. Nine times was it attacked by Leou she and Inchukha without being broken, and it was apparently only when Tsung hiung, who had defeated the left wing, turned upon the other, that the Khitans gave way. They were pursued to their camp, which was invested by the Jurchi. At dawn the following day, the Khitans escaped from their camp and fled. They were pursued as far as the mountain Aleou Shan, where their infantry was cut in pieces. Among the captured booty were many agricultural implements, showing that the Khitans had gone to the frontier with the intention of settling, of becoming military colonists in fact. The Jurchi having returned home, Aguta went to hunt in the district of Leao hoei. Soon after a fresh envoy, named Yelu channu (De Mailla calls him Chang kianu), with some companions, went to him from the Khitans, who bore a threatening message, and at the same time treated him as a rebellious subject.

Having detained five of his companions, Aguta sent back the envoy with a missive, in which he, in his turn, addressed the Liau Emperor by name, and bade him submit to *him* (De Mailla, vol. viii. p. 376).

While Aguta passed the summer heats near his capital, he, on the 5th day of the 5th month, "adored the sky and shot arrows at the willows." It was customary for the Jurchi sovereign to do this three times a year, namely, on the 5th day of the 5th month, the 15th of the 7th month, and the 9th of the 9th month. In the 6th month, we are told, Yelu channu returned with a fresh message from his master, the Khitan Emperor, which, as before, was not conciliatory (Visdelou, p. 237). In the 7th month Aguta raised his younger brother, called Ukimai, to the rank of Amban-po-ke-lie, *i.e.* great Po ke lie, and made him Kuesang, equivalent to grand vizier. He raised Sakhai to the dignity of Kue lun po lu lie, Tse puo she to that of Amai po ke lie, and Sie ye, his younger brother, to that of Kue lun po ke lie. At this time the Khitan Emperor sent another envoy, named Siao tsela (the Tsela of Visdelou) with an impertinent letter. Aguta laughed at it, but detained the envoy. About this time also the tribe of Hii, which was nearly related to the Khitans, submitted to him.

The Khitan Emperor saw that menace was unavailing, and now determined to march in person against his vassal. He sent an army of 100,000 men, composed of Khitans and Chinese, by way of Chang chun, under the command of Siao fong sien. Yeluchamnu, his subordinate, had 20,000 picked troops with him. The rest of his army, which was divided into five sections, marched by way of Lo to keou (De Mailla, vol. viii. p. 377). Aguta was determined to meet this attack boldly, and advanced against Hoang lung fu. He crossed the river Hon tong (the Hoen tun of Visdelou) by a ford, which was then luckily discovered, whence the town of Hoang lung fu was afterwards renamed Tsi chau, *i.e.* "town of the passage," and the garrison was called Liché, *i.e.* "ford luckily passed." Having taken the town, he released the Khitan envoy Siao tsé la, who had been

detained, and bade him return to his master and tell him to surrender the rebel Asu, and promising in that case to retire (De Mailla, vol. viii. p. 377). A few days later he conferred the title of Kue lun hu lu po ki lie upon Sa khai, and that of Kue-lun-yi-che-po-ki-lie on Ali ha men. The Khitan authorities now became frightened, and the Liau Emperor marched himself at the head of an army, which the exaggerated rhetoric of the East puts at 700,000 (Visdelou, p. 238 ; De Mailla, *loc. cit.*). He planted himself at To men, while his relative, with a lesser army, encamped at Wo lin. Meanwhile Aguta was encamped at Hiao la, where he held a council among his officers, and it was deemed prudent not to attack the enemy, but to entrench themselves where they were. He sent Tii ku nai and Inchukha, however, to cover the town of Ta lu ku. Some time after, having captured an officer attached to the enemy's commissariat, he learnt that during his absence one of the Khitan Emperor's relatives, named Ye lu chamnu, had revolted, and that the latter had consequently returned home to suppress him. Some of Aguta's officers wished him to detach a portion of his men in pursuit, but he prudently deemed his force was not large enough to be thus divided. Meanwhile the Khitan army was encamped on the height called Hu puta shan. Aguta had only 20,000 men with him. He nevertheless ordered an attack, and began the fight by an advance of his right wing. The Khitans were utterly defeated, and the ground for 10 leagues was strewn with their corpses. The state car of the Khitan Emperor, his tents, and military chest, and an immense booty in jewels, arms, horses, and cattle, fell into the hands of the conquerors. In this fight Sie ye is said to have distinguished himself by killing a great number of Khitans with his pike, others also performed heroic feats. On the other hand, Siao te mo and his officers burnt their camp and retired. Kia khu sa gha captured the town of Khai chau, and Po lu ko that of Te lin. U-tse-li khan also surrendered to the Jurchi (Visdelou, p. 239).

At first, says De Mailla, the Jurchi had only cavalry, and

as badges they used little planchettes, on which were engraved certain signs; these they attached to the men and horses. Their companies consisted, ordinarily, but of fifty men each, of whom twenty, who were placed in front, were protected by stout cuirasses, and armed with swords and short pikes. The remaining thirty wore lighter armour, and carried bows and arrows and lances. Their mode of attack was to send two men from each company as skirmishers. They then divided their forces so as to be able to attack on several sides, advanced at a trot till within one hundred yards of the enemy, when they charged upon them, and discharged a shower of arrows and lances. They then retired as quickly. They repeated these Fabian tactics till they had broken down their strength, when the heavy-armed troops finished the fight with their swords and pikes (De Mailla, vol. viii. p. 379). Early in 1116, Kao yung chang, a native of Pohai, who commanded 3000 men, forming the garrison of Pan tan keou, foreseeing the coming storm, and otherwise discontented with the state of affairs, being joined by 7000 or 8000 of his countrymen, seized upon Liau yang, chief town of Liau tung, and the eastern capital of the Khitans, took the title of prince, and sent to ask assistance from the Jurchi by Tabuye.

Meanwhile the Coreans sent an embassy to congratulate Aguta on his victories, and asking to be allowed to take possession of the town of Pao chau, which was granted them. Aguta also issued some regulations to relieve the poor, who, in consequence of their poverty and bad harvests, had been obliged to sell their liberty. He sent one of the rebel's own officers, named Hu sha pu, to tell Kao yung chang that he was quite willing to join with him against the Khitans, but that Liau yang was too near his borders for him to usurp the title of prince there, unless he would accept the title from himself. As Kao yung chang refused, Aguta sent the general Wa lu against him. Meanwhile, the Khitan general Chang lin had laid siege to Liau yang. On the approach of Walu, he raised the siege, and retired towards Chin chau. Walu, having beaten him, captured that town, and then advanced upon Liau yang.

The rebel, Kao yung chang, ventured to oppose the Jurchi troops as they crossed the river Ho chui, but they turned his position. He then returned to Liao yang, pursued by the Kin troops, and the following day was defeated in a sortie he attempted. He then tried to escape towards Chang song, at the head of 5000 horsemen, but was captured by Ta-buyc, and conducted before Aguta, who had him put to death. Liao yang and eight other neighbouring towns, and those Jurchi who were subject to the Liao, by which are perhaps meant those who formed the old kingdom of Po hai, submitted to Wa lu, who was made governor of Liao yang and its dependencies by his master. Aguta now abolished the Khitan laws in his dominions, reduced the taxes, and divided the people into centuries. A du han defeated a body of 60,000 Khitans near the town of Chao san. In the latter part of this year, namely 1116, Aguta issued golden tablets of office, *i.e.* paizahs similar to those used in later times by the Mongols. He also gave a new name to the years of his reign, namely, Tien fu, *i.e.* "aided by the sky."

Early in 1117, the town of Khai chau having revolted, was reduced to obedience, and the town of Tai chau was captured by an army of 10,000 Jurchi. Aguta at this time issued a prohibition against the marriage of people belonging to the same family, however distant the relationship, declaring such marriages void, and punishing those who broke the regulation with the bastinado (*Visdelou*, p. 240).

This same year, namely in 1117, a section of the Jurchi went to the town of Pao chau, where the Corcans had a garrison. The latter received them in a friendly manner; but the intruders drove out the garrison, and occupied the town. The Corcan king sent his officer, Puma, to complain, but he was not listened to, and the Jurchi were too strong to be opposed by force.

The Liao Emperor gave the command of the élite of his troops to the prince Ye lu nie li, who bore the title of King of Tsin. He is called Ye lu shun by De Mailla. He marched to attack Ti ku nai, but wrote a letter to Woluku, the Kin

commander, proposing peace. This letter was forwarded to Aguta, who replied, that he would have no peace so long as his rebellious subject, Asu, was protected by the Khitans. Ye lu shun continued his advance to the mountain Tsi li. Woluku concentrated his forces, and sent for Walun, with the garrison of Liau yang, to go and join him. The two then marched towards the town of Hien chau. Koyosse, a Khitan officer, made a night attack upon them; but they defeated him, and then turned upon Ye lu shun, who was also defeated and driven towards Ho li chin. Hien chau was soon afterwards captured, and its fall was succeeded by the surrender of the neighbouring towns of Kien chau, I chau, Hao chau, Hoi chau, Ching chau, Chuen chau, and Hoe chan (De Mailla, vol. viii. pp. 385 and 386).

The rapid growth of the Kin power began to attract the attention of the somewhat somnolent Sung Empire, and its Emperor sent an envoy to say he had heard of the birth of a saint in the land of the rising sun, and to ask that he would, after he had overthrown the Liau empire, restore to him, *i.e.* to the Sung Emperor, those provinces of China which the Khitans had usurped during the domination of the five small dynasties. Aguta replied, in diplomatic terms, that it would be well for the Sung and the Kin troops to attack the Khitans on either side, and that each party should retain what he conquered. About this time, the town of Chuang chau and its Tsie tu se, or governor, submitted freely to the Jurchi. Two or three months later, the general Woluku was accused of embezzlement, and was degraded to the rank of a mukhe or centurion. Envoys from the Khitans were continually going to Aguta, but in vain. The grip of the Kin Empire was gradually tightening around them. We now find Aguta putting a considerable garrison into the town of Hoang lung fu, of which he appointed Leouchi commander (Visdelou, p. 241).

To Ye lu nuku, the Khitan envoy, Aguta used imperious phrases; he bade him tell his master that if he would pay him the deference a younger brother should pay an elder, become his tributary, cede to him his Nan king, or southern

capital, and all the dependencies of the Imperial court, give his son and the sons of his chief people to him as hostages, and give passports sealed with his seal to all those who wished to go to him, Aguta, from the Sung Empire, from Hia and Corea,—that then he would make peace with him, but on those terms only. They were of course refused by the Liau Emperor. The Sung Empire meanwhile continued its intriguing policy, having naturally good hopes of making the rising power useful; and in 1118 one of the first Mandarins, named Ma ehing, was sent to the Jurchi, accompanied by Kao yo su. They set sail from Teng ehau, reached Su chau without any difficulty, and thence went on to the court of Aguta (De Mailla, vol. viii. p. 387). Many subjects of the Khitan Emperor continued to give in their submission. There were also some Chinese who did so, and were given the rank of Tsien hu, or commanders of ten thousand men. Two of them surrendered the town of Lung hoa ehau (Visselou, p. 241). The efforts to conciliate Aguta still continued, and were still fruitless. Early in 1119 the Khitans sent him patents and an Imperial seal, but he dispensed with the patronage and returned them. He also had one of his dependents, named San tu, bastinadoed for accepting a title from the Chinese Emperor. The latter's envoy, Ma ching, however, was received with great courtesy. He detained him for three months, and then sent him home again, bearing presents of rich pearls, gold, and silver, the products of his country, and he also sent back with him a native of Po hai, named Li shen king. They reached China in safety, and Li shen king, after a stay of ten days, set out on his return, accompanied again by Ma ching, and also by Chao yeou kai. The latter died when the party reached Teng ehau. This caused his companions to delay there awhile, and they then heard that the Liau and Kin sovereigns had made peace, and that the Liau Emperor had acknowledged Aguta as his superior. Upon this Ma ehing was ordered not to proceed, and an inferior officer, named Hu king, was deputed to conduct the Kin envoy home again. Aguta seems not to have been pleased with the letter of which Hu king was the

bearer, and complained that its terms were overbearing and harsh (De Mailla, vol. viii. pp. 388, 389). About the same time an envoy went to the Sung court from the Coreans, to warn the Chinese that the Jurchi were far more dangerous than the Khitans, that they were like wolves and tigers, and that peace ought not to be made with them (*ibid.* p. 389). Visdelou tells us that about this time the Coreans raised the wall which guarded their northern frontier about three feet higher. It was about this time also that the new Kin alphabet, which Aguta had ordered to be made, was issued. The letters were modelled on those of the Khitans, and were drawn up by Uye, Mulianhu and Kushin (De Mailla, vol. viii. p. 390). We are told it took them several months to construct them, and that they were based on the Chinese characters called Kiai tsi or Kia shu, and were of the same form of the Khitan letters (*ibid.* p. 391). These characters were authorized by Imperial edict, and ordered to be brought into general use in the year 1119. In 1138 the Kin Emperor, Hei tsung, having invented a set of small Jurchi characters, the former were termed capitals. The small characters came into use in the year 1145 (Wylie, Journ. As. Soc.).

In the latter part of 1119 Ye lu nu ku, for the seventh time, went to Aguta as the bearer of conciliatory letters. In these his master was at length forced by circumstances to grant him the title of Emperor; but as he did not treat Aguta as the elder or superior, and instead of styling his kingdom the Great Empire of the Kin, he merely called it the kingdom of Tung hai, from the name of a petty province, Aguta refused to accept the diploma. The Chinese Emperor, who had a natural wish to regain the districts appropriated by the Khitans, was not at all pleased at the reconciliation which seemed in prospect between the Khitans and the Jurchi, and sent Chao leang si to the latter, under pretence of buying horses, but really to put a stop to the negotiations. Meanwhile, however, Aguta, who now felt himself strong enough, and who declared he was weary of the tergiversation of the Liau Court, had determined upon open war with it.

He commanded arms, etc., to be got ready, told Sie kha to

garrison Tumu with 1000 men, and ordered the rest of his troops to rendezvous on the banks of the river Hoen ho, and set out at the head of his army, accompanied by Siao sun lie, the Khitan envoy, and Chao leang si, the Chinese envoy. He marched directly upon Shang king, the chief capital of the Liau dynasty, whose governor was named Yelutabuye. Before attacking it he sent a message to the garrison by Ma ye, an officer who had deserted the service of the Khitans and joined him, advising the inhabitants to surrender, and thus escape their fate. The Liau Emperor was at this time absent hunting, in the mountain Hu tu pi; but he detached Yelupesipu with 3000 picked men, who succeeded in throwing themselves into the town. As the Kin troops drew near the walls, Aguta told the two envoys who were with him that he had taken them to let them see how he could conduct a war, and thus that they might see which side to take (Visdelou, pp. 242 and 243; De Mailla, vol. viii. pp. 392 and 393). He then ordered a general assault. The attack was made amidst beating of drums, etc., and lasted from sunrise to 10 o'clock, when Tu mu succeeded in capturing the outer walls, after which Ta bu ye surrendered the interior city (Visdelou, p. 243). Chao leang si, the Chinese envoy, then offered Aguta a cup of wine, amidst shouts of Van sui, *i.e.* Ten thousand years (*id.*). The Kang mu, which probably presents us with the Chinese point of view of matters, says Aguta undertook to restore to the Sung dynasty the province of Yen, *i.e.* of Pehcheli, which had been appropriated by the Khitans, to be content with the conquest of Ta tung fu, which was the southern capital of the Khitans, and to surrender Si tsin fu, the capital of Yen, to the Chinese. To this, we are told, Aguta consented, and wrote to the Sung Emperor, saying he himself would be content with the country stretching from Pingti and Song lin as far as Ku pi keou, while the Chinese should have all that lay to the south. He also bade the Sung Emperor attack the Khitans on the other side, which the latter undertook to do. He at the same time requested that neither side should pass the fortress of Ku pi keou (De Mailla, vol. viii. pp. 393 and 394).

Meanwhile the Kin Emperor continued his advance. He summoned Yu tu, the lieutenant-general of the Khitans, to submit, and encamped on the river Wohe; but at the representation of Tsun kan and the rest of his officers, on the distance they were from home, and from their supplies, he drew back for a while. He sent a detachment, however, to lay siege to Kin chau, while his general, Tu mu, defeated the Khitan commander, Yu tu, on the river Liau. Wanian che hu, one of his relatives, was killed on this occasion. Later in the year, the tribe of the river Chowei rebelled and killed the Kin officers in charge of it. Aguta sent Walu with an army against She li ku ta, the leader of the rebels, who was defeated, and four of his principal accomplices were put to death.

The Khitan Emperor seemed utterly oblivious of his impending ruin, continued to spend his time in hunting and frivolity, instead of attending to his duties, nor would he listen to his advisers. A curious picture of Eastern life is afforded by the anecdote related in the Kang mu, where we are told that the Princess Wenfei, having tried other means without result, composed some songs which she sang to the Emperor, in which she tried to rouse him to a sense of duty; but the result was merely that Yelu yen hi, the Emperor, took a dislike to her, and wished to see her no more.

Wen fei was the mother of two of the Khitan Emperor's sons, named Ye lu ting and Ye lu ning. She was one of three sisters, the other two having married the princes Yelu ta holi and Yelu yu tu. These three sisters had a brother, named Siao fong sien.

The favourite of the people was the Emperor's second son, named Aolua, and Siao fong sien contrived that it should be told to the Emperor, that Wen fei, with her two sons, and Siao yu, the commander of the cavalry, were intriguing to dethrone him and put Aolua on the throne. The Emperor was much enraged at this, had Yelu ta holi and the cavalry general put to death, and ordered the Princess Wen fei to commit the happy despatch. Yelu yu tu, who feared the same fate, escaped with 1000 or 1200 horsemen. He fled to Aguta, who

received him well, and had long interviews with him on the position of the Liau empire and its sovereign (De Mailla, vol. viii. pp. 395 and 396; Visdelou, p. 243). Early in 1122, Aguta's cousin, Sakhai, died, and we then find him, at the request of Tsun kan, commencing a fresh campaign against the Khitans.

He gave special orders to his generals, that when they captured the southern capital of the Khitans, they were to send him immediately the ceremonial robes, the musical instruments, maps, books, and state papers of the Khitan empire (Visdelou, pp. 243 and 244). On the advice of Niyamoho, Aguta did not command the army in person, but gave its command to Sie yé, under whom were the generals, Pukianu, Niyamoho, Wapen, Walipu, and Puluhu. They were accompanied by Yelu yu tu (De Mailla, vol. viii. p. 396). The Kin army marched straight to Ta tung fu, the southern capital of the Khitans, which they captured, and also the town of Tse chau. The Khitan Emperor was then hunting in the country of Yuen yang lo. The treacherous Siao fong sien suggested that the Kin troops were only coming at the instance of Yelu yu tu to prevent Aolua mounting the throne, and that, if he would sacrifice this son, they would retire. Unfortunately, a plot was at this time discovered to place that young prince on the throne; and Aolua was, in consequence, strangled, and thus the hope of the army, and probably the only individual fit to revive the empire of the Khitans, was destroyed.

Meanwhile, the general Niyamoho (the Tsun kan of Visdelou), hearing that Hiamo, chief of the tribe of Hii, and a dependent of the Khitans, was encamped with a body of troops at Pe ngan chau, attacked and defeated him. He captured the town, and the Hii submitted. The commander-in-chief, Kao (the Sie ye of De Mailla), sent to acquaint the Emperor, and to take to him some of the spoil, and received from him in return an encouraging letter, bidding him use clemency to all who submitted (Visdelou, p. 244).

Tsun kan, while at Pe ngan chau, sent some of his officers to scour the country. These captured, *inter alia*, Yelu si ni

lie, an officer of the Khitan guards. From him they learnt of the murder of Aolua, to which I have referred, and also that the Emperor, their master, was then staying at a country house at the lake of Yuen ghan, *i.e.* the lake of teal. De Mailla calls it the country of Yuen yang lo. The generalissimo Sie ye, who is called Kao by Visdelou, now advanced to try and surprise him. He passed the mountain Tsin lin, and arrived at the lake Pe chui or White Water (the Chaghan nur of the Tatars). At the same time Tsun kan crossed the mountain Piao lin, and marched straight for Yuen ghan. But the Emperor, having heard of their approach, fled with five or six soldiers to the country of Yun chong. In crossing the river Sang kan, south of Tai tong, the retiring Emperor lost his Imperial seal (Visdelou, pp. 244, 245; De Mailla, vol. viii. pp. 396, 397). He continued his flight, and was pursued to the White Lake, where he was almost captured. He fled on to the Si king or the Western Court, which was then Ta tung fu in Shan si, and eventually sought refuge with the tribe Ye chi. De Mailla says, in the mountain Kia shan. The traitor, Siao fong sien, and his son, however, were captured; but the escort which was conducting them to the Kin Court was waylaid by the Khitans, and they were both put to death, as traitors who had caused the misfortunes of the empire (De Mailla, *op. cit.* p. 398).

When the Liau Emperor abandoned his dominions, he left his minister Chang lin with the Prince Ye lu chun in charge of Yen king, *i.e.* of the modern Peking. Meanwhile Ta tung fu, the western capital, was being approached by the Kin generals, who severely defeated Keng cheou chong, a Khitan general, who went to its succour, and almost destroyed his army, upon which the city and the surrounding towns opened their gates (De Mailla, vol. viii. p. 400). Kao or Sie ye then retired, and marched towards the White Lake, detaching U po to conquer the tribe of Pii chi. In concert with another division, commanded by Cha la, it defeated the enemy near the river Hoang chui. Ye lu tan, a Khitan prince, assembled the hordes of the south-west and marched towards the north of Shen si. One of

his officers, named Ye lu fu ting, deserted him, and went over to the enemy. At this time Tu mu and Leou chi captured several important towns, among others Tong chin chau, where the rebel Asu, who had been the cause of the whole strife, was captured. He was sent to Aguta, who had him bastinadoed, and then set at liberty (De Mailla, vol. viii. p. 400; Visdelou, p. 245). The Kin commander-in-chief now sent to his master to ask him to go and take command of his soldiers in person. The latter heard from the mouth of Tsun wang, one of the most successful generals, the news of the many victories of his people, and gave a grand festival in honour of them. We now find the deputy Emperor Ye lu chun, who ruled at Yen king, sending envoys to Aguta, to ask for a treaty of peace. He accordingly sent Yang nien as an envoy to bid him submit; but Ye lu chun died almost immediately, namely, in the 6th month of 1122 (Visdelou, p. 246; De Mailla, p. 401). Aguta, on setting out to take command of his troops, issued a proclamation, in which he declared his good will to the conquered people, and also proclaimed an amnesty. He left his younger brother Ukimai as regent during his absence.

Of the four Courts of the Khitans, only the southern one, namely Yen king, still remained independent. The Empire of Hia or Tangut, which fills such an important place in the annals of Chingis Khan, which had been on good terms with the Khitans, now began to fear that the ruin of the latter might involve them, and sent 30,000 men to support their friends. They were commanded by Li leang fu. The Kin generals Wa lu and Leou chi, having first explained to the Tangutans the cause of their strife with the Khitans, proceeded to attack them in the country of Ichui, and drove them to the country of Ye ku, where, the rivers being flooded, most of them perished. Meanwhile other dependents of the Khitans continued to submit. Thus Mao pachi, a Chinese living at the chief capital of the Khitans, went over with 4000 families. Aguta gave him the command of them, and also appointed Wo ta la to the command of 8000 families as a reward for the many people he had induced to submit voluntarily (Visdelou, p. 246).

Aguta now set out to take command of his army in person, and he arrived at the White Lake in the 8th month of 1122, where he was met and saluted by the commander-in-chief and other officers. There news arrived that the Khitan Emperor was encamped near the Lake Ta yu, *i.e.* the lake of the great fish (*ibid.* p. 246). He accordingly set out at the head of 10,000 troops, and sent on the Generals Pukianu and Walipu, with an advanced guard of 4000 men. The latter went on by a forced march, and overtook the Emperor in the country of Shéniento, where he was posted with 25,000 men. Ye lu yu tu, who accompanied them, told them they were too weak, and their horses too harassed, to risk an encounter with such a force, and that they had better wait for the arrival of Aguta. Walipu, on the other hand, was afraid that if they waited, their victim would escape. Meanwhile the Khitans, who saw how few the enemy were, extended their army in the shape of a half-moon, whose two horns approached one another, until the Kin troops were surrounded on all sides. The Khitan Emperor, who deemed the battle already won, planted his queens and the princesses on a height, whence they could easily see the battle, for which piece of presumption he paid dearly. Ye lu yu tu, having noticed the Imperial standard and other insignia there, pointed them out to his friends, upon which Walipu, at the head of a portion of his men, made a charge at them. The Khitan Emperor was seized with panic, and fled, and was followed by his troops (De Mailla, vol. viii. pp. 403, 404). Sheniento was only a day's journey from Lake Ta yu (Visdelou, p. 246).

When Aguta reached the field of battle, he blamed Walipu for not having pursued the Khitan Emperor; whereupon the latter set out and overtook the fugitives at Ulichitu, where he compelled him to abandon his baggage, and also captured Siao te liei (De Mailla, *loc. cit.*).

The Khitan Emperor had already lost the State seal in crossing the river San kan, south of Ta tung fu (*id.* p. 397). Aguta continued his advance as far as Kiu yen, and shortly after his general Wanian hœn chu defeated a confederated

body of 60,000 Chinese Khitans and Hii near the town of Kao chau. An official named Makii was killed in this fight, and the tribe Li te man submitted to the Kin troops. Meanwhile, we are told that Tu mu pacified the rebels in the south, and induced the towns on the borders of the sea to submit. The Khitan Tsie tu se, named Yelu shin si, submitted with all his people to the rising dynasty, and Aguta issued a proclamation to the various tribes of the Hii who had revolted to do the same. The town of Kuei hoa chau having submitted, he pitched his camp there, and shortly after at Fung shin chau. Many of the people had sought refuge in the mountains and forests. Aguta offered a general amnesty to all who would return, including criminals, and promised to make those who induced them to return mandarins, if they were free men, and if they were slaves, to give them their liberty.

The town of Yu chau having submitted, he conferred dignities upon three of its officials named Tse chao yen, Tien khin, and Su kin. The two former soon after revolted, and killed the Governor of the town, but they apparently deemed it prudent to submit again almost immediately (Visdelou, p. 247).

Hitherto the Kin troops had only overrun those provinces of the Khitan Emperor which lay in Tartary, and formed no part of China proper. The Chinese districts, it had been agreed upon between Aguta and the Sung authorities, should be conquered by the latter, and Aguta wrote to complain of their delay. The Chinese, instead of justifying themselves, demanded that Aguta should make over to them the districts of Ing chau, Ping chau, and Luan chau. To this the Kin envoy would not listen, and promised merely, on behalf of his master, to hand over the towns of Ki chau, Kin chau, Tan chau, Shun chau, Cho chau, and I chau. But the Chinese showed their weakness too palpably in another way to make their complaints of much avail. Their general, Tong koan, who was at the head of 150,000 men, had allowed himself to be disgracefully beaten, and he now sent secretly to the Kin authorities to ask them to help him, and

to invade the province of Yen (De Mailla, vol. viii. p. 405). Aguta cheerfully complied. Tsun wang commanded the advance guard. Ti ku nai marched by way of Te ching kheou, and Inchukha by the pass of Kin yang kuan. Leou shi commanded the left wing, and Po lu hoei the right. The armies converged upon Yen king (the modern Peking), which was then the southern capital of the Khitan Tatars. The Princess Siao chi, who acted as regent, sent five times to Aguta, offering, on behalf of the young prince, Ye lu ting, that he would consider himself a vassal of the Kin Tatars. But Aguta was immovable; and she was therefore constrained to post her best troops about the barrier of Kin yang kuan. These offered but a short resistance. Its walls were sapped, and, in falling, killed many people, and the garrison dispersed. The Kin troops then advanced rapidly upon Yen king, the southern capital. Kao lu, who commanded there, sent them the keys of the city, and Aguta entered it by the southern gate. He posted some of his troops on the ramparts under the orders of Inchukha and Leou shi, and planted his camp outside the southern gate. Tso ki kong, the chief minister of the Khitans, then went to him, at the head of the grandees, and submitted. They were treated well, and reinstated in their posts, and bidden to go to the different chaus and hiens (*i.e.* towns of different grades) to recommend the rest of the people to follow their example. The Princess Siao chi fled with Siao wa by way of Ku pe keou, towards Tiente (*i.e.* Tenduch, the country of the Keraites) (De Mailla, vol. viii. pp. 405 and 406). Having removed to the Imperial palace at Yen king, and received the homage of the various officers, Aguta sent a proclamation to the western capital, to tell the people there how he had captured Yen king, and had sent some troops in pursuit of the Empress regent, Siao chi, the wife of the late Emperor, Ye lu nie li, and bidding them apprehend her if she appeared among them (Visdelou, pp. 247 and 248).

In the seventh month of 1123, the King of the Hii, named Hoei li pao, usurped the title of Wang ti, *i.e.* Emperor; and about the same time the Khitan Tsie tu se, or governor

of Ping chan, named Shi le gai, submitted. Aguta sent his general, Wo hun, to induce Hoi li pao to submit also.

When the Chinese Emperor heard that Aguta had captured Yen king, he sent Chao leang si to treat with him for its surrender, and also that of Ta tung fu, to the Sung authorities. An exchange of communications ensued, terminated by a peace, in which the Kin authorities surrendered the country of Yen, with six departments, to the Chinese. This was done, apparently, on condition that the Chinese paid tribute. No mention was made, however, of the towns of Ing chau and Luan chau, which had not been included in the cession of territory made by the later Tsin to the Khitans, and which were retained by the Kin Tatars. The latter also pillaged the district which they ceded to the Chinese, and carried off the greater part of the women and children to their own country (De Mailla, vol. viii. p. 408).

Many towns, with their Khitan governors, continued to surrender, among them Hing chung fu is especially mentioned; and Aguta issued several ordinances in regard to assisting the poor, and not molesting the peaceable inhabitants. He ordered the release of captives, and gave permission to those who had been sold into slavery to redeem themselves, and threw open the roads to free traffic in the country of Hien chau, in that of the eastern capital, and in other provinces. Soon after, the officers of the town of Ping chau were ordered to go with the Chinese envoys to mark out the boundaries of the two empires; and afterwards, Aguta appointed Ping chau (the modern Yung ping fu), a town of the first rank, in the province of Peking, to be his Nan king, or southern capital, and he made Chang kio vice-emperor of that capital (Visdelou, p. 249).

He then had to suppress a rebellion among some of the Khitans who had submitted, namely Ye lu machi, Yu tu (*i.e.* Yelu yu tu), Uchi, Tola, and others. Instead of exercising any severity, he had Yu tu brought into his presence, and then explained to him the utter weakness of his party, told him that for such an enterprise as he contemplated it, was necessary to have both arms and horses, and

that he would supply these, pledging his Imperial word upon it; but he added, "If you again fall into my power, do not hope for pardon" (*ibid.* p. 249). This somewhat cynical address had its effect, and the Emperor contented himself with ordering Tola to be bastinadoed, and pardoned his companions.

He now sent his generals Walu and Walipu towards the In shan mountains, in pursuit of the fugitive Khitan Emperor. At Lung men, near the pass of Kiu yong, they captured the celebrated Yelutashi, the founder of the empire of Kara Khitai, to whom I referred in a previous paper (*Visdelou*, p. 250; *De Mailla*, vol. viii. p. 408). As usual in Chinese campaigns, there were constant outbreaks of those who had submitted. Thus we are told that Kieou kin assembled a number of his Khitan supporters at Chung hing fu and rebelled. He was captured, and performed "the happy despatch." Aguta sent the richest families and the cleverest artificers from Yen king and Chang ching kiun, under escort, to his own country. Meanwhile Walu and Walipu (*i.e.* Tsun wang) went in pursuit of the Khitan Emperor. They had to traverse a very difficult country, and were guided by Yelutashi (*De Mailla*, vol. viii. p. 409). They came up to his camp on the White Lake, and there surprised the president of the six courts, together with fifteen princes of the blood royal, who surrendered themselves (*Visdelou*, p. 250). *De Mailla* tells us that on this occasion there were captured the fugitive Emperor's two younger sons, named Ye lu ting and Ye lu ning, his harem, and the greater part of the grandees, together with 10,000 carts full of rich plunder. In the confusion Temuku, a grandee of the first rank, Prince Yelu yali, the Emperor's second son, and his eldest daughter, Teli, escaped, and joined their father, who had fled towards Ing chau. They were shortly after overtaken and defeated, and the Prince Yelu sinilie, who bore the title of Wang of Chao, was captured, as well as the Imperial seal (*De Mailla*, vol. viii. p. 409; *Visdelou*, p. 250).

The Emperor himself was sharply pursued. Likien shun,

the King of Hia, offered him an asylum. This he accepted, against the advice of his general Siao te lie, and having crossed the Hoang ho, encamped at Kin su, whence he sent letters patent to Likien shun, by which he raised him to the rank of Emperor. Siao te lie, who was disgusted with the Emperor's conduct, in conjunction with Yelu yuenchi, carried off Yelu yali, his second son, towards the north-west, and made him Emperor of the Liau. Meanwhile Chang kio, a former official of the Khitans, who had passed over to the Kin, and had been appointed governor of Ping chau, having heard that Tso kikong, who, like himself, had been in the service of the Khitans, was traversing his government on his way to Tatar, and taking off with him a number of the inhabitants of the district of Yen, was exasperated, had his officers seized, and sent the captives back to their homes. He thereupon revolted and had himself proclaimed Emperor. He applied to the Sung authorities for assistance. One of the Sung ministers named Wang fu advised his master to assist him, saying it was a good opportunity to recover Ping chau. Another minister named Chao leang si was of a different opinion, and warned them not to break with the Kin. He was not listened to, however, but was degraded, and the frontier commander, Wang ngan chong, was ordered to support Chang kio, and to announce to the inhabitants of that district a remission of three years' tribute (De Mailla, vol. viii. pp. 410 and 411). Thus treacherously did the Chinese authorities deal with their new allies, and bring upon themselves speedy vengeance.

Meanwhile Aguta was making a progress through Tatar. From the mountain Huye lin he passed to the lake of Loli, where the captives Yelu sinlie, Yelutashi, Ma yu nu, etc., together with the Imperial seal, were presented to him. About the same time Hoei li pao, who had usurped the title of Emperor among the Hii, was killed by his own people. But Aguta was reaching the term of his days. He was encamped near the lake of Yuen ghan. There he was taken ill, about the same time when his brother Tu mu defeated the rebel Chang kio in Liau tung. He determined to return to Shang king,

the supreme capital of the Khitans. He nominated Niyamoho as commander-in-chief of the army, and under him appointed Pu kia nu and Walu as sub-commanders, and planted them in the country of Yun chong, to guard the frontier. In the 7th month of 1123 he was encamped at the mountain Nieou shan. A few days after there was a solar eclipse, an event associated with disaster in Chinese astrology. Aguta moved on to the river Hoen, where he was met by his brother Ukimai, the various princes of his family, and his officers, and at length died at the lake Pu tu, in a palace which he had there. He was fifty-five years of age. He was buried in a palace called Ning shin tien, *i.e.* the Hall which appeases the manes, at the capital city of Hai ku ching, and was succeeded by his brother Ukimai. Like other founders of dynasties, he received the posthumous title of Tai tsu, *i.e.* very great ancestor, a miao or temple in his honour was built at Ta tung fu, in Shan si, and a memorial tablet was also erected to him near the modern Pe king (Visdelou, *op. cit.* pp. 250, 251).

It is not my present purpose to trace out any further the history of the Kin dynasty in detail, and a few words will suffice to complete our story. The successor of Aguta, named Ukimai, followed up his victories, subdued the empire of Hia, and captured the Khitan Emperor Yeliu yenhi, who had fled in that direction, and thus finally closed the history of the Khitan dynasty. He also declared war against the Sung dynasty. His troops crossed the Yellow River, captured the Sung capital, Kai fong fu, and also their Emperor, Ken chin (Visdelou, p. 255). The latter remained a captive for a long time, while a desultory war was continued against his subjects, which was at length terminated by a peace, by which the Chinese or Sung Emperor became the tributary of the Kin Tatars, and agreed to pay them 250,000 Chinese ounces of pure silver, and as many pieces of silk annually, while the river Hoai was appointed as the boundary between the two nations. By this treaty the Kin Emperor secured a much larger part of China than was governed by the Khitans. His authority, in fact, extended over the provinces of Peh-

chehli, Shansi, Shantung, Honan, and the Northern part of Shen si. The Kin capital was fixed at Yenking, the modern Peking, which was given the title of Chung tu or Imperial City of the Centre; while the Sung capital was fixed at Lin ngan aho, called Hang chau in Che kiang. Within the Kin territory there were five cities, distinguished as Imperial residences. 1. Liao yang chau in Liao tung, called the Eastern Court, or Tung king. 2. Ta tung fu in Shan si, the Si king or Western Court. 3. Chung tu, or Chung king, the Central Court. 4. Pien liang, or Kai fong fu, on the southern bank of the Yellow River in Honan, the Southern Court, or Nan king; and lastly, Ta ning fu, on the river Loha, which was then known as the Northern Court or Peking.

But while the Kin emperors ruled over a much wider area in China, their dominion in the northern and western steppes was much more limited. The Mongols were apparently beyond their control, and it was probably with the overthrow of the Khitan Empire that they first began to form a distinct power; while the dynasty of Kara Khitai, which dominated over the wide region in the neighbourhood of Lake Balkhash, and the Naimans and other tribes of Sungaria were independent of them.

The Kin Empire was of very short duration, and was finally overthrown by the Mongols in the year 1234. In the next paper of this series I hope to deal with the difficult questions surrounding the origines and early history of the Khitans.

ART. XI.—*On a Treatise on Weights and Measures, by Eliyá, Archbishop of Nisibin.* By M. H. SAUVAIRE.

THE following letter, addressed to me by M. Henry Sauvaire, late of the French Consulate at Alexandria, at present Secrétaire-Interprète, Chargé du Vice-Consulat de France à Casablanca, Rabat et Mazagan (Maroc), appeared to me to be of so interesting and curious a nature that I requested the writer to permit me to offer it, together with the accompanying translation, for publication to the Royal Asiatic Society. The subject is at present very obscure, and the light thrown upon it by M. Sauvaire's researches, soon I hope to be more fully set forth in the work he is now preparing for the press, will be cordially welcomed by Orientalists.

STANLEY LANE POOLE.

46, Rue Montgrand, MARSEILLE, le 13 Decbre. 1876.

CHER MONSIEUR,—J'ai eu l'honneur de vous entretenir dernièrement du *traité sur les poids et mesures* (مقالة في الوزن والمكاييل), composé par le saint père Eliyá, archevêque (مطران) de Nésibin et de ses dépendances. Cet opuscule fait partie d'un petit volume qui contient différentes œuvres du même auteur, ou dissertations théologiques et même grammaticales. Dans une lettre qui figure au fo. 92v. et adressée au frère glorieux, grand et assisté de Dieu, Abou'l 'Alâ Sâ'ed ebn Sahl, notre Métropolitain s'intitule le pécheur Eliyá, serviteur de l'église de notre Seigneur le Messie à Nésibin. Il avait des rapports très-suivis avec Abou'l Qâsem ebn el-Maghréby; le vizir du Sultan Bouweihide Moucharref-ed-daulah se plaisait à l'interroger sur une foule de matières, qui devenaient pour le savant prélat le sujet de véritables dissertations. Nous lisons au fo. 162r., que le vizir, "après avoir passé dix jours

à Nésibe et être retourné à Myâfâréqîn, mourut bientôt dans cette dernière ville le dimanche onzième jour du mois de ramadân de l'année 448. C'est cette même date qu' Ebn el A'îr nous donne comme étant celle de la mort d'Abou'l Qâsem el Hosayn ebn 'Aly ebn el Hosayn el Maghréby, qui était né à Mesr l'a. 370.

Assemani nous apprend qu'Elias Bar-Sinæus, archevêque de Nésibe, mourut le 7 mai 1049 de J.C. Ce savant qui énumère toutes les œuvres d'Elias ne fait aucune mention de son traité sur les poids et mesures. Cette intéressante dissertation, perdue au milieu des écrits divers que je vous ai signalés en commençant cette lettre, a été découverte par M. le baron de Slane, qui, comme vous le savez, s'occupe de la préparation définitive du Catalogue de notre Bibliothèque nationale, dont nous attendons la publication avec tant d'impatience ; ce savant a eu l'extrême bonté de me la signaler. J'espérais que votre riche collection de manuscrits arabes du British Museum aurait pu me fournir un exemplaire complet de ce traité. Ainsi que vous avez eu l'amabilité de me le faire savoir, mon espérance a été déçue. Il ne figure pas non plus, si j'ai bien cherché, sur le Catalogue des manuscrits orientaux de la Bibliothèque de Vienne. Je n'ai point Casiri à ma disposition en ce moment, et ne puis savoir si la Bibliothèque de l'Escurial a été plus favorisée que les autres. J'ai bon espoir cependant que l'œuvre du Métropolitain de Nésibe devra se trouver à la Bibliothèque du Vatican. Il serait d'autant plus à désirer de rencontrer un second exemplaire de cet intéressant opuscule, que la copie de Paris est très-incomplète : sur seize chapitres dont le traité se compose, il nous manque :—la fin du Chapitre IV., les Chapitres V. à X., le commencement du Chapitre XI. ; la fin du Chapitre XII. et le commencement du Chapitre XIII. Nous sommes donc privés d'une partie assez considérable de l'ouvrage. Heureusement quelques chapitres nous sont parvenus entiers. Je joins ici¹ la traduction du XVIe. et dernier qui aura peut-être quelque intérêt pour vous, parce qu'il se rapporte plus par-

¹ [In two subsequent letters, of Jan. 9th and Feb. 16th, 1877, M. Sauvaire sent me his translation of the remaining chapters and fragments of chapters.—S.L.P.]

ticulièrement en quelque sorte à la numismatique orientale. Il s'agit en effet d'une balance ou, pour mieux dire, d'une romaine à l'aide de laquelle on pouvait faire trois opérations : 1°. chercher combien une pièce d'or, ayant un cours donné, pesait de derhams au dit cours ; 2°. combien les dits derhams représentaient de derhams (poids) ou, en d'autres termes, de derhams légaux ; et 3°. enfin à combien de metqâls (ou dinârs légaux) équivalait le morceau d'or donné. Quant aux dinârs légaux, c'étaient ceux que l'on appelait *imâmiens* (الدنانير الامامية), ainsi que je l'ai découvert quelque part, et ils se composaient de vingt qîrâts.

Veillez excuser, cher Monsieur, la longueur de cette lettre et agréer l'expression de mes sentiments le plus dévoués.

H. SAUVAIRE.

BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONALE. Ancien fond arabe, No. 114, fo. 164v. à 184v.

[fo. 164v.] *Au nom de Dieu clément, miséricordieux ! DISSERTATION SUR LES POIDS ET MESURES, composée par le saint père Eliyâ, métropolitain de Nésibe et dépendances, et comprenant seize chapitres.*

I. CHAPITRE PREMIER.

Sur la mention de celui qui déterminâ par le calcul les poids et les mesures employés en ce temps-ci.

Le premier qui déterminâ par le calcul les poids et les mesures employés en ce temps-ci fut *Qidoûn*, le philosophe grec. Ce *Qidoûn*, suivant ce que le sage (*hakîm*) grec *Andromanqoûs*, [fo. 165r.] historien et mathématicien, a mentionné dans ses écrits, vivait sous le règne de *Fârânoûs*, roi des Macédoniens. Depuis le commencement du règne du dit *Fârânoûs* jusqu'au commencement de l'ère de *Dou'l qarnayn* (Alexandre-le-Grand), d'après ce qu'a expliqué et prouvé *Ya'qoûb* (Jacques) d'Edesse, dans son livre sur la chronologie et le calcul, il s'est écoulé cinq cent deux ans. Le royaume

de Bâbel (Babylone) appartenait alors aux Makeldânîtes¹ ou Nabatéens, et celui de Jérusalem aux fils d'Israël. La plus grande partie des habitants de cette époque opérait ses transactions en échangeant les marchandises les unes contre les autres, et à l'aide de monnaies (*foloués*) d'argent et de cuivre, dont les poids variaient : on s'en servait comme on fait usage (aujourd'hui) des *fels* et des "pièces frappées,"² suivant une valeur de convention.

[fo. 165r.] Qidoûn détermina donc les poids, les mesures, et les étalons (*sandj*³) des derhams et des metqâls, dont on use actuellement dans le pays de Roûm, dans l'Iraq et dans la plupart des contrées. Les gens les trouvèrent bons et, voyant combien ils leur étaient utiles, ils en adoptèrent l'usage dans leurs transactions.

II. CHAPITRE DEUXIÈME.

Sur les valeurs (maqâdir) des poids des metqâls et des derhams, et la manière dont on les détermina.

Les premiers poids qui furent déterminés et fabriqués sont les étalons (*sandj*) des metqâls. On fit le metqâl de soixante grains (*habbah*), chacun de ces grains pesant cent graines (*habbah*) de moutarde [fo. 166r.] sauvage⁴ de moyenne grosseur. En premier lieu, on détermina l'étalon (*sandjah*) du grain, en prenant cent graines (de moutarde), du poids desquelles on fabriqua un étalon en cuivre, qui se trouva égal au poids de ces cent graines : on eut ainsi la *sandjah* de la *habbah*.

Ensuite, avec le poids de cet étalon et celui de ces graines de moutarde, on fit une *sandjah* de deux grains, et une *sandjah*

¹ Le texte porte المكلدانيين ; peut-être faudrait-il supprimer le م et lire الكلدانيين "les Chaldéens."

² (الطوابيع) الطوابيع.

³ سنج Le MS. de Paris écrit toujours ce mot par un *sin* ; on rencontre la même orthographe dans le *Madjma' el anheur*, commentaire du *Moultaqa el abheur*, ed. de Constantinople, année 1276, p. ١٤١, ١٤٥ et ١٥٠. Le traité d'El Djabarty sur les balances porte سنج et صانجة avec un *sâd*.

⁴ من حبوب الخردل البري.

de deux autres grains. Puis, réunissant les trois étalons, c'est-à-dire celui du grain et (les deux) des deux grains, on fabriqua du poids total l'étalon du demi-sixième du metqâl. Le tout servit ensuite à faire la *sandjah* du sixième (du metqâl). Alors, avec ce total, on obtint la *sandjah* du tiers ; après quoi, on tira successivement les étalons de la moitié, du metqâl, des deux metqâls, des cinq, des dix, des vingt, des cinquante, des cent, des deux cents [fo. 166v.], des cinq cents et des mille.

Les *sandjah* employées s'élevèrent donc au nombre de quinze,¹ se répartissant ainsi : cinq pour les fractions, savoir : l'étalon d'un grain, celui des deux grains, celui d'un demi-sixième, [celui d'un sixième,²] et celui de la moitié (du metqâl) ; trois pour les unités des metqâls, savoir : l'étalon du metqâl, celui des deux et celui des cinq metqâls ; trois pour les dizaines, c'est-à-dire pour les dix, les vingt et les cinquante (metqâls) ; trois également pour les centaines, et un pour les mille : c'est l'étalon des mille (metqâls).

Quant aux poids des derhams, ils furent réglés sur le pied de sept metqâls pour dix derhams, [fo. 167r.] et de soixante grains pour chaque derham ; d'où il résulte nécessairement que chacun des grains (*habbah*) du derham équivaut à soixante-dix graines de moutarde.

L'étalon du grain exactement obtenu, on fit avec celui-ci et les (soixante-dix) graines de moutarde, l'étalon des deux grains ; et ensuite, un second étalon pour les deux grains. De l'ensemble, c'est-à-dire des cinq grains, on composa l'étalon du demi-sixième (du derham), qui est l'étalon du *qîrât*³ ; puis, l'étalon du sixième (du derham), correspondant au *dâneq*⁴ ; puis l'étalon du demi-derham, celui du derham, et au dessus jusqu'aux mille (derhams), dans le même ordre que pour les metqâls.

¹ Cependant d'après l'énumération faite par l'auteur nous trouvons seize étalons différents. On verra un peu plus bas, ainsi qu'à propos des derhams, que l'étalon du tiers n'est plus mentionné.

² Le texte a omis cet étalon. On remarquera qu'il n'est plus question ici du tiers de metqâl.

³ Le derham se divise donc en douze qîrâts. Cependant El Djabarty donne seize qîrâts au derham.

⁴ Ce qui fait six dâneqs pour le derham.

III. CHAPITRE TROISIÈME.

Sur les ratls et les onces, leurs valeurs (maqâdir) et leur diversité.

[fo. 167v.] Les gens ont été unanimes à donner douze onces au ratl; mais ils ont été en désaccord sur les valeurs des ratls et des onces, et leurs poids.

Ainsi le ratl *roûmy*¹ est de soixante-douze metqâls; ce qui fait cent deux derhams et six-septièmes de derham, et donne pour l'once de ce ratl, six metqâls et un demi-septième.²

Le ratl de Baghdâd³ est de quatre-vingt-dix metqâls, faisant cent vingt-huit derhams et quatre septièmes; son once est donc de sept metqâls et demi.

Le ratl du Maghreb est de quatre-vingt-seize metqâls, soit cent trente-sept derhams et un septième de derham.⁴

Le ratl [fo. 168r.] *Tâhéry*⁵ est de trois cent trente-six metqâls.

¹ C'est-à-dire, du pays de Roûm ou Asie-Mineure. Peut-être faut-il entendre, dans un sens plus général encore, le ratl en usage chez les Grecs (Byzantius).

² "Le demi-septième" est évidemment une addition du copiste. El Djabarty nous fournit un tableau comparatif, malheureusement incomplet, du nombre de derhams dont se composaient les ratls de différents pays ou localités. D'après ce tableau, le ratl *islambouly* (de Constantiople) et *roûmy* est égal à 176 derhams. On trouve à la Bibliothèque nationale un manuscrit (supplém. ar. N^o. 1912) désigné sous le nom de *Guide du Kâteb* et intitulé "ملحة الاداب في صناعة الكتاب." Ce MS. contient au fo. 129r., sous le titre de *Chapitre de la mention des poids*, une liste de différents ratls avec leur évaluation en derhams; on la trouvera, en note A, à la fin du présent chapitre avec lequel on pourra la comparer.

³ El Djabarty parle de deux ratls de Baghdâd: l'un, d'après la correction ou approbation (*tashîh*) d'Abou-Ishâq, se compose de 1200! derhams; l'autre, suivant le *tashîh* d'En-Nawawy, n'est pas accompagné de son chiffre. Le *Guide du Kâteb* fait ce ratl de 130 derhams (vois note A à la fin du chapitre); toutefois on lit dans ce MS. fo. 10v. et 11r.: "Remarque. Le ratl de Baghdâd, suivant ce qu'a mentionné l'imâm Er-Râf'ey [mort vers l'a. 623] est de cent trente derhams. Suivant l'opinion préférée par le Cheikh Mouhy-ed-dyn En-Nawawy [+ a. 676], il se compose de cent vingt-huit derhams et quatre septièmes de derham: c'est sur ce chiffre que se basent les fetwas." Le commentateur déjà cité d'*El Moultaqa*, p. 141, lui donne cent trente derhams; ce qui fait, dit-il, vingt *estâr*.

⁴ Le tableau d'El Djabarty porte 127½; mais peut-être la différence ne provient-elle que d'une erreur de copiste.

⁵ Serait-ce un ratl institué par les Tâhêrides? El Djabarty écrit Dâhéry, avec un ط. Il existait une ville du nom d'Et-Tâhêriyah sur la frontière du Khawârezm à peu de distance d'Amol. El Djabarty nous apprend que le ratl Dâhéry était de 480 derhams. Or si l'on multiplie 336 metqâls par 1½, ou a exactement 480 derhams. Les deux noms, quoique écrits diversement, se rapportent donc à une même livre. Une erreur de copiste, une mouche même, peuvent si facilement transformer un ط en ظ que je suis très-porté à considérer *Tâhéry* comme la vraie leçon.

Le ratl de *Nésibin* (Nésibe), qui est (aussi) celui d'El Djayy, est de deux cent dix metqâls.¹

Le ratl *Arzény* et *Djazary*² est de deux cent vingt metqâls.³

Le ratl *Balady*⁴ est de quatre cent vingt metqâls.

Le *mannâ*⁵ équivaut à deux ratls de Baghdâd et se compose de cent quatre-vingts metqâls; ce qui fait deux cent cinquante-sept derhams et un septième de derham.

Le ratl *des briques*,⁶ à Mossoul, équivaut à soixante ratls.⁷

NOTE A.

[*Guide du Kâteb* (fo. 129r.), “*Chapitre de la mention des poids.*” Sache que le ratl de Damas⁸ se compose de 600 derhams, et son once de 50 derhams.

Le ratl d'Alep est de 480⁹ derhams; son once de 40 derhams.

Le *Djarouy*¹⁰ compte 312¹¹ derhams; son once 26 derhams.

¹ $210 \times 1\frac{2}{3} = 300$ derhams. Le tableau d'El Djabarty nous offre un ratl composé de 300 derhams. C'est celui qu'il appelle *Samanoury* et *Samandary* (de *Samanour* et de *Samandar*). Je trouve dans la cosmographie de Demechqy, traduite par Mr. Mehren, une ville nommée *Semeuder* et appartenant au pays des *Khozars*, sur les bords de la mer Caspienne.

² *Arzény* est évidemment l'adjectif relatif d'*Arzen er-roûm* (Erzeroûm), ou d'*Arzendjân*. Quant à *Djazary*, qu'El Djabarty écrit *Djaziry*, il est formé d'El *Djazîrah* (la Mésopotamie).

³ El Djabarty accompagne le ratl *Djaziry* du chiffre 162, presque égal à la moitié de celui que nous donne en toutes lettres le Métropolitain de Nésibe; en effet $220 \times 1\frac{2}{3} = 314\frac{2}{3}$.

⁴ C'est-à-dire, sans doute, de Balad, ville située sur la rive occidentale du Tigre, dans le Diâr-Rabî'ah ou deuxième partie de la province d'El *Djazîrah* dont la première était Mossoul.—*Cf.* Mehren, *loc. cit.* p. 259 et suiv.

⁵ Ce mot que notre auteur écrit *منا* se rencontre le plus généralement sous la forme *من* (*mann*); pour le pluriel on trouve *امنا* et *امنان*. C'est la *mine* des anciens. Comp. M. Vazquez Queipo, *Système métrique*, etc. El Djabarty et le Commentateur du *Moultaqa*, aussi bien que le *Guide du Kâteb* et autres, font le *mann* ou *mannâ* égal à deux ratls de Baghdâd.

⁶ *رطل اللبن*. Ou pourrait également traduire par “le ratl du lait,” mais cette dernière interprétation est peu admissible.

⁷ Il s'agit sans doute de ratls de Baghdâd.

⁸ Djabarty l'appelle “Syrien, Tripolitain et Damasain;” il lui donne également 600 derhams; sauf à l'égard du ratl *mesry*, auquel cas il ne compte plus que 592½ derhams.

⁹ Djabarty lui en donne 720; c'est le chiffre actuel.

¹⁰ C'est ce qu'Abot de Bazinghem appelle *géroûin*. Le *Guide du Kâteb* nous apprend (fo. 175r.) qu'en l'année 588 de l'hégire, sous le règne d'El Malek en-Nâser Salâh-ed-dyn (Yousuf), le gouvernement achetait l'alun des Arabes au poids *Layty* et le revendait au poids *Djarouy*.

¹¹ Ce nombre est conforme à celui fourni par Djabarty.

Le Layty comprend 200¹ derhams ; son once 16 derhams et $\frac{2}{3}$.

Le 'Alây² contient 180 derhams ; son once 15 derhams.

Le Harîry³ se compose de 120 derhams ; son once de 10 derhams.

Le Fouwy (de Fouwah) a 360⁴ derhams ; son once, 30.

Le Moumény⁵ en a 168 ; son once, 14.

Le Mesry (de Mesr) compte 144⁶ derhams ; son once, 12.

Le Qalyoûby (de la province de Qalyoûb)⁷ se compose de 150 derhams ; son once de 12 $\frac{1}{2}$. Il en est de même du (ratl) Fayyoûmy (du Fayyoûm) et du Falafy ?

Le ratl de Baghdâd compte 130⁸ derhams ; son once 10 $\frac{1}{2}$ et $\frac{1}{3}$.

Ceux d'Osyoût, de Tahâ et aussi de Tahtâ, en comptent 1000 ;⁹ leur once 83 $\frac{1}{3}$.

Le ratl *Roûmy* se compose de 120¹⁰ derhams ; son once de 10.

Celui de Mahallah a 400¹¹ derhams ; son once 33 derhams et $\frac{1}{3}$.

Celui de Jérusalem comprend 800¹² derhams ; son once 66 derhams et $\frac{2}{3}$.

Celui de Damiette contient 330¹³ derhams ; son once 27 $\frac{1}{2}$.

Les *mann*. Le *mann* comprend 260 derhams ; son once 30 ;¹⁴ ce qui fait¹⁵ 26 derhams.¹⁶

¹ Conforme à Djabarty.

² العلالى Ce ratl n'est pas mentionné par Djabarty.

³ Djabarty n'en fait pas mention. Si l'orthographe n'est pas fautive, ce ratl serait, comme son nom l'indique, celui en usage pour le pesage de la soie.

⁴ Conforme à Djabarty.

⁵ Djabarty l'appelle *Maymoûny* [de Maymoûnah].

⁶ Conforme à Djabarty.

⁷ On trouve dans le tableau fourni par Djabarty, un ratl de 150 derhams ; mais cet auteur l'appelle *Qonawy* (de Qonyeh = Iconium). Peut-être est-ce une erreur de copiste pour Qalyoûby.

⁸ Voir la note ci-devant (3) page 296.

⁹ Conforme à Djabarty que ajoute " et l'Adjloûny."

¹⁰ Voir la note ci-devant (1) page 296.

¹¹ Conforme à Djabarty.

¹² Conforme à Djabarty, qui ajoute, comme se composant également de 800 derhams, les ratls de Naplouse, d'Âtek ? et de Ba'albakk.

¹³ Conforme à Djabarty.

¹⁴ Le signe copte est 𐩪 = 30 ; mais j'avoue ne pas comprendre ce qu'il vient faire ici.

¹⁵ Le texte porte وهو.

¹⁶ Privé des ouvrages nécessaires, je n'ai pu faire aucune recherche sur les mots Djarouy, Layty, 'Alây, Moumény, Maymouny, Falafy et Âtek. Toutes les autres localités sont connues.

Au fo. 129^{v.}, le *Guide du Kâteb* nous fournit encore le chapitre suivant qui se rapporte au même sujet :

Chapitre de la conversion des ratls les uns dans les autres.

Quand tu veux convertir un *gentâr*¹ en un autre *gentâr* : par exemple, tu veux savoir combien le *gentâr* de Damiette fait en *Mesry*.

Le [ratl] de Damiette se compose de 300 (derhams), et le *Mesry* de 144. Tu auras donc le (ratl) de Damiette égal à 2 ratls (*Mesry*) $\frac{1}{6}$ et $\frac{1}{8}$.²

Combien le Syrien fait il en *Mesry* ?

Le Syrien contient 600 derhams et le *Mesry* 144 ; nous aurons [pour le ratl syrien] 4 ratls (*Mesry*) et $\frac{1}{6}$.

Le *gentâr* *Mesry* est égal à $43\frac{1}{2}$ ratls³ de Damiette.]

IV. CHAPITRE QUATRIÈME.

Sur la cause qui a amené l'entente entre les gens au sujet des poids des metqâls et des derhams, et leur désaccord en ce qui regarde les ratls et les onces.

[fo. 168^{v.}] Les gens n'ont été d'accord sur les poids des metqâls et des derhams, et n'ont été en désaccord relativement aux valeurs des ratls et des onces, que parce que les étalons (*sandj*) des metqâls et des derhams sont, en tous pays, affectés seulement au pesage de l'or et de l'argent ou des matières analogues d'un prix égal, ou presque égal, ou supérieur à celui de ces deux métaux. Quant aux ratls, la valeur des (marchandises) qu'ils servent à peser varie. En effet, tel peuple s'en sert pour peser des matières d'un prix vil, inférieur, comme le bois à brûler, le charbon, le foin, la chaux et autres (substances) qui ne sont pas susceptibles d'être pesées avec les ratls et les étalons consacrés au pesage des dattes sèches, du miel, du sucre, et des drogues et épices de la même catégorie. Tel autre peuple pèse, [fo. 169^{r.}] avec les ratls, le pain, la viande, les fruits, le coton et les produits semblables,

¹ On sait que le *gentâr* se compose de 100 ratls.

² On s'attendait à trouver ici les problèmes posés en *gentârs*.

³ Exactement $43\frac{7}{11}$. Djabarty donne $43^r. 7^o. 17^a. 3^q.$; ce qui est exact, sauf les 3 qirâts qui, d'après mes calculs, devraient être 6.

qui ne sauraient être pesés avec les ratls employés pour le pesage du charbon, de la chaux et du bois à brûler, ces dernières substances étant d'une valeur bien inférieure à celle des premières. On ne peut non plus se servir, pour les peser, des ratls avec lesquels on pèse le bois d'aloès, le camphre, la rhubarbe,¹ le jus de la canne à sucre,² la poudre d'antimoine,³ l'antimoine,⁴ et autres substances qui leur ressemblent, dont la valeur leur est de beaucoup supérieure. D'autres encore font usage de ces poids pour les essences de grand prix, les parfums et les choses rares, dont la valeur atteint et dépasse même celle de l'or et de l'argent : de pareilles substances ne peuvent être pesées avec les mêmes ratls qui servent au pesage des objets de vil prix. C'est donc pour ce motif que les valeurs des ratls ont varié : les ratls les plus puissants ont été employés pour les choses [fo. 169r.] viles ; les ratls d'une puissance moyenne ont servi au pesage des objets de moyenne valeur, et on a réservé les ratls les plus faibles pour peser les matières les plus précieuses. Conséquemment la variation des ratls a eu lieu suivant le bon marché, la cherté ou la rareté de l'objet à peser. Or comme l'or et l'argent, ainsi que tout ce qui se pèse avec les metqâls et les derhams, ont en tous pays et aux yeux de chaque individu, une valeur considérable, les metqâls et les derhams ont été reçus par tous avec les mêmes poids. Au contraire, les choses qu'on pèse avec les ratls ont des valeurs variables : il en est de chères et d'autres sans valeur ; celles qui sont sans valeur peuvent avoir un grand prix dans un endroit et un très-faible dans un autre ; celles qui ont un grand prix peuvent le conserver ici et le perdre ailleurs. Par suite, il s'est produit une différence dans les valeurs [des ratls].⁵

¹ الرأوند Voy. Ebn Baytar, i. 478.

² الطباشير "La liqueur sucrée que se trouve dans les nœuds et racines de la canne à sucre indienne."—M. Behrnauer, Journ. Asiat. 1860, et Ebn Baytar, ii. 149 s.

³ Kohl.

⁴ Toutyá.

⁵ Le chapitre IV. se trouve interrompu, et le manuscrit continue avec la seconde partie du chapitre XI. qui, ainsi que les suivants, traite des balances et spécialement de la romaine, appelée قرسطون (qarastoun) par l'Archevêque de Nésibe.

[XI. CHAPITRE ONZIÈME.]

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[Fo. 170r.] [Si l'un des deux bras] du fléau de la balance est plus long que l'autre, le rapport de la différence en plus ou en moins de ce qu'on y pèsera sera le même que le rapport de la longueur du bras le plus long à (celle du) bras le plus court.

Exemple. Soit un fléau dont l'un des deux bras dépasse d'un dixième la longueur de l'autre. Je dis que si l'on suspend les poids étalons (*sandj*) au bras le plus long et la chose à peser au bras le plus court, l'excédant de la chose à peser sur les poids étalons sera d'un dixième de ceux-ci. Ainsi, quand les poids étalons pèsent dix derhams, l'objet donné en pèsera onze. Si l'on suspendait les étalons au bras le plus court, et la chose à peser au bras le plus long, le poids de cette dernière serait moindre [fo. 170v.] que les étalons, d'un dixième de ceux-ci. Conséquemment dans le cas où les étalons pèseraient onze derhams, l'objet à peser serait du poids de dix derhams.

C'est d'après cette analogie que les choses se passeront dans toute balance dont l'un des deux bras est plus long que l'autre.

Toutes les fois qu'une balance reposant sur une tige¹ a un fléau long et léger dont le *mesmâr*² est carré, elle est plus juste et plus sensible que celle dont le fléau est court et pesant, et le *mesmâr*, cylindrique.

La meilleure des *volantes*³ est celle qui, étant légère, est munie d'une suspension en fer avec un *mesmâr* carré; et le meilleur des *garastouïn* (romaine)⁴ est celui dont le *cou*⁵ est long. En effet plus son *cou* est long, plus l'instrument est

¹ Litt. "porté" (سَمَوَل).

² C'est ce que nous appelons le *couteau*.

³ طِيَارَات.

⁴ قَرَسْطُونَات, pluriel de قَرَسْطُون. C'est proprement la *romaine* قَبَان, ainsi que nous l'apprend El Djabarty.

⁵ Sur ce que les Arabes appellent le *cou* (عُنُق) de la *romaine*, voir El Djabarty.

juste et sensible ; plus son *cou* est court, plus l'instrument est paresseux.

De même, [fo. 171r.] pour tout *qarastoûn*, la pesée est plus exacte¹ dans le petit *bâb*² que dans le grand *bâb*.

Si la suspension du grand *bâb* se trouve placée juste au milieu entre la suspension du petit *bâb* et celle du plateau (*kaffah*), le nombre de ratls et de metqâls fourni par le grand *bâb* sera le double de ce qui sera déterminé par le petit *bâb*. Si l'intervalle compris entre la suspension du grand *bâb* et celle du petit, est égal à deux fois l'intervalle qui sépare la suspension du grand *bâb* de celle du plateau, le poids que fournira le grand *bâb* sera égal à trois fois celui que déterminera le petit *bâb*. Et ainsi de suite, lorsque cet intervalle sera plus grand.

Si l'espace entre la suspension du grand *bâb* et celle du petit [fo. 171r.] est moindre que l'intervalle existant entre la suspension du grand *bâb* et celle du plateau, le poids déterminé par le grand *bâb* sera moindre que deux fois celui fourni par le petit *bâb* ; c'est-à-dire que si, par exemple, il y a entre les suspensions des deux *bâb*, un espace égal à la moitié de l'intervalle qui sépare la suspension du grand *bâb* de celle du plateau, le poids donné par le grand *bâb* sera les trois demies du poids que fournira le petit *bâb*. Telle sera l'analogie, toutes les fois que l'intervalle sera moindre.

Il convient aussi que tu saches que, dans tout *qarastoûn* (romaine), le rapport du bras le plus court au bras le plus long est le même que (celui du) poids (*wazn*) de la *roummânah* (contre-poids) au poids que détermine ce *qarastoûn*. Si donc le bras [fo. 172r.] le plus long est égal à trois fois le bras le plus court, ce que déterminera ce *qarastoûn*, avec ce *bâb*, sera égal à trois fois le poids de la *roummânah*. Si le bras le plus long égale quatre fois le bras le plus court, ce que déterminera le *qarastoûn* égalera quatre fois le poids de la *roummânah*.

¹ أبين. Litt. "plus visible" ou "plus espacée." C'est-à-dire que le petit *bâb* permet d'apprécier de moindres fractions de poids.

² Cette expression correspond à celle de *wadjh* (وجه) employée par El Djabarty. C'est ce que nous désignons en français sous le nom de *grand poids* et *petit poids*, par abréviation de : côté du grand poids, côté du petit poids.

C'est d'après cette analogie et dans ce rapport que les choses se passeront dans toutes les romaines (*qarastounât*), leurs fléaux et leurs poids, à savoir que le rapport de la *roummânah* à ce que déterminera le *qarastoun* sera le même que le rapport du bras le plus court au bras le plus long, conformément à ce que je viens d'exposer.

XII. CHAPITRE DOUZIÈME.

*Sur le moyen de connaître le poids de la roummânah d'un qarastoun et d'en faire une nouvelle*¹ [fo. 172v.] *qui lui soit égale, quand la première n'existe plus et que le fléau existe; et (sur le moyen de connaître) la graduation du fléau ainsi que la place de ses suspensions, lorsque, cela étant inconnu, la roummânah est supposée connue.*

La *roummânah* d'un *qarastoun* n'existe plus; mais nous avons le fléau. Nous voulons connaître le poids de cette *roummânah* ou en faire une nouvelle qui lui soit égale.

Nous mesurerons au compas l'intervalle compris entre la suspension² du *qarastoun* et celle du plateau. Puis nous prendrons une longueur (*meqdâr*) égale à cette distance, sur le bras le plus long qui porte les marques et les lignes indiquant les poids; et tu regarderas combien de divisions des poids entrent dans cette longueur. Le nombre de ces divisions correspondra au poids de la *roummânah*. [fo. 173r.] Conséquemment tu feras une *roummânah* de ce poids, et ce sera celle de ce *qarastoun*.

Si la suspension du *qarastoun* est absolument inconnue, tandis que la *roummânah* est supposée connue, et que nous voulions établir la suspension en un endroit tel que la romaine nous détermine, en fait de poids, des poids donnés, nous regarderons quelle est la somme (*mablagh*) des poids que nous voulons obtenir de ce *qarastoun* et nous les diviserons par le poids de la *roummânah*. Tu verras combien te donne le

¹ Je lis تجديد, comme ci-après, au lieu de تحديد que porte le manuscrit.

² Je n'hésite pas à lire علامة, bien que le texte porte علامة (marque).

quotient de la division.¹ Tu l'augmenteras d'une unité et, partageant le fléau² entier en autant de divisions que ce nombre contiendra d'unités, tu placeras la suspension sur l'un des deux bras du fléau, c'est-à-dire le plus court et celui auquel [fo. 173v.] on suspend le plateau, à l'une des dites divisions. Tu feras le poids du plateau d'une quantité telle que la romaine étant suspendue vide, le fléau soit horizontal. Ensuite tu partageras le bras le plus long, au moyen du compas en divisions dont chacune soit égale à celle qui occupe l'espace compris entre la suspension (de la romaine) et [celle du plateau].³

[XIII. CHAPITRE TREIZIÈME.]

[fo. 174r.] que son poids (*wazn*) détermine des metqâls. En effet il déterminera ce que nous voulons.

Exemple. Un *qarastoun* donne le poids en derhams ; sa *roummânah* pèse cent derhams. Nous voulons qu'il nous donne des metqâls.

Nous ferons le poids de sa *roummânah* de cent metqâls. Conséquemment ce qu'on pèsera avec ce *qarastoun* sera exprimé en metqâls.

Si tu veux ne pas faire une autre *roummânah*, tu regarderas quel est le poids de la *roummânah* affectée aux derhams, et tu fabriqueras un anneau dont le poids soit égal aux trois septièmes de cette *roummânah*. Lorsque tu voudras que ce *qarastoun* exprime⁴ des derhams, tu pèseras avec la *roummânah* seule ; quand tu voudras avoir le poids des metqâls, tu suspendras l'anneau à la *roummânah* et pèseras avec les deux (réunis). Cela te donnera des metqâls.

Si, [fo. 174v.] le *qarastoun* étant fait pour peser les metqâls,

¹ Le texte porte : ما يخرج من التسمين “Ce qui sortira de deux divisions (ou partages).” Il faut évidemment lire تقسيم.

² عمود est écrit ici avec un tachdîd.

³ Le manuscrit est interrompu par un blanc d'une demi-page, suivie d'un feuillet coupé par moitié dans le sens de la hauteur.

⁴ Litt. “pèse.”

nous désirons y peser des derhams, tu agiras à l'inverse de ce que tu viens de faire.

Si, le *qarastoûn* donnant des ratls de Baghdâd, tu désires lui faire exprimer des ratls de Nésibe, nous regarderons quel est le poids de la *roummânah* en ratls et fractions de ratl de Baghdâd, et tu feras une autre *roummânah* qui pèse, en ratls et fractions de ratl de Nésibe, un même nombre de ces ratls et de leurs fractions. Pour cela, tu ajouteras à son poids une fois et un tiers;¹ en effet en ajoutant au ratl de Baghdâd une fois et un tiers son poids, nous obtenons le ratl de Nésibe; et si nous pesons² avec cette (dernière) *roummânah*, au même *qarastoûn*, nous aurons le poids en ratls de Nésibe.

Exemple. Un *qarastoûn* exprime des ratls de Baghdâd; nous voulons y peser au ratl de Nésibe. Le poids de sa *roummânah* est de dix ratls de Baghdâd.

Nous ferons sa *roummânah* de dix ratls de Nésibe; et tu pèseras avec celle-ci.

On procédera d'après cette analogie.

Lorsque nous voudrons lui faire exprimer des poids divers,³ nous ferons pour chaque espèce une *roummânah* séparée avec laquelle nous pèserons cette espèce, en tenant compte du rapport de ces poids entre eux et de la différence en plus ou en moins existant entre les uns et les autres.

XIV. CHAPITRE QUATORZIÈME.

Sur le qarastoûn [fo. 175v.] avec lequel on pèse un objet d'un poids supérieur au nombre de metqâls et de ratls qu'il peut déterminer.

Si nous désirons qu'un *qarastoûn* donne un nombre de ratls supérieur à sa portée, nous augmenterons sa *roummânah* d'une quantité dont le rapport soit au poids de la *roummânah* comme le surplus que nous voulons obtenir du *qarastoûn* est

¹ Le ratl de Baghdâd se composant de 90 metqâls, nous avons $90+90+30=210$, ce qui est le nombre de metqâls contenu dans le ratl de Nésibe.

² Le texte porte : *وإذا زدنا*; mais il est évident qu'il faut lire : *وإذا وزتأ*.

³ Litt. "différant de quantités."

à la totalité de ce qu'il exprime. En effet, en opérant ainsi, nous lui ferons déterminer ce que nous voulons.

Exemple. Un *qarastoûn* peut déterminer jusqu'à cent ratls ; le poids de sa *roummânah* est de dix ratls. Nous voulons lui faire donner deux cents ratls.

Tu augmenteras la *roummânah* d'une fois son poids. Au moyen de cette augmentation, [fo. 176r.] le *qarastoûn*, avec cette *roummânah* (nouvelle), déterminera jusqu'à deux cents ratls.

On procédera d'après cette analogie.

Si nous augmentons la *roummânah* d'une quantité quelconque, et qu'avec la *roummânah* et l'augmentation, nous pesions un objet (*meqdâr*), nous regarderons ce que nous marque le fléau ; nous y ajouterons un nombre égal au rapport existant entre l'augmentation et le poids (primitif) de la *roummânah* : le total sera ce que pèse l'objet. Cette explication te suffit, sans que nous ayons besoin de l'appuyer d'un exemple.

XV. CHAPITRE QUINZIÈME.

Sur le moyen d'essayer une romaine, et de la corriger quand elle est défectueuse.

La défectuosité d'une romaine peut provenir des causes suivantes : le plateau et ses suspensions pèsent trop ou trop peu ; ou le fléau est courbé et tordu ; ou bien la graduation est vicieuse [fo. 176v.] parce que les marques et les lignes ont été mal placés.

La défectuosité ayant pour cause l'excès ou le manque de poids du plateau et de ses suspensions se reconnaît à ce que, quand on pèse avec cette romaine des objets de poids différents,¹ la différence en plus ou en moins se manifeste pour tous d'une manière constante ; ainsi, lorsqu'on pèse avec ce *qarastoûn* cinq ratls, par exemple, ou moins, ou bien un ratl et plus, la différence en plus ou en moins, dans les deux pesées, est toujours la même ; elle n'augmente ni ne diminue.

¹ Litt. " Des quantités (*maqâdir*) variant de poids."

Le moyen de corriger cette défectuosité consiste à examiner (les choses) : le poids obtenu avec cette romaine est-il inférieur au poids exact ? [fo. 177r.] nous ajouterons cette quantité au plateau et à ses suspensions. Est-il supérieur au véritable poids ? nous diminuerons d'autant le plateau et ses suspensions, ou bien nous augmenterons l'extrémité du bras le plus long d'une quantité équivalente à celle-là : cette augmentation sera, par rapport à cette quantité, comme le bras le plus court de la romaine est au bras le plus long.

La défectuosité provenant de l'excès ou du manque de poids de la *roummânah* se reconnaît à ce que, quand, avec ce *qarastoûn*, on pèse des objets de poids différents, la différence varie en plus ou en moins, et cette variation est proportionnelle (au poids de l'objet) ; ainsi, si l'on [fo. 177v.] pèse avec cette romaine un objet (*meqdâr*) pour lequel on aura constaté un excès ou un manque de poids ; puis qu'on y pèse un objet pesant le double, l'excès ou le manque sera le double de ce qu'aura fourni la première pesée. Y pèse-t-on, au contraire, la moitié, le triple ou toute autre fraction convenable du poids de cet objet, l'excès ou le manque sera la moitié, le tiers, etc., de ce qu'avait donné la première pesée, selon le poids de l'objet.

Pour corriger cette défectuosité, tu pèseras la *roummânah* et reconnaîtras de combien son poids diffère du chiffre inscrit ; puis tu placeras dans le plateau du *qarastoûn* un poids égal¹ à cette différence et poseras la *roummânah* sur le fléau, à tel endroit des marques et lignes qui corresponde [fo. 178r.] à ce poids (*taql*) placé dans le plateau. Tu examineras : si le poids placé dans le plateau est trop fort,² nous augmenterons la *roummânah* d'une quantité équivalente ;³ s'il est trop faible, nous la diminuerons d'une quantité analogue. En effet, quand nous aurons fait cela, la pesée fournie par ce *qarastoûn*, au moyen de cette *roummânah*, deviendra exacte.

Voulons-nous corriger cette défectuosité par un autre

¹ L'égalité n'est pas nécessaire. Le premier poids venu peut servir à faire trouver la différence.

² C'est-à-dire, paraît trop fort ou, en d'autres termes, l'emporte sur la *roummânah*.

³ C'est-à-dire, qui suffise pour rétablir l'équilibre.

procédé? Nous regarderons quel est le poids de la *roummânah*. Puis nous pèsérons avec ce *qarastouïn* un objet (*meqdâr*) que nous pèserons ensuite avec un *qarastouïn* ou une balance juste. Tu verras de combien est la différence entre les deux pesées, et l'ayant multipliée par le poids de la *roummânah*, tu diviseras le produit de cette multiplication par le montant du poids (*wazn*) donné par le *qarastouïn* (défectueux). [fo. 178v.] Tu regarderas : si le poids qu'il t'a donné est inférieur au véritable, nous ajouterons un (nombre) égal au quotient de la division par la *roummânah*. S'il est supérieur, nous le diminuerons d'autant.

Exemple. Un *qarastouïn* (défectueux) fournit une pesée de cent ratls ou plus. Nous y pesons cent ratls. Ayant pesé ceux-ci avec une romaine exacte, celle-ci te donne quatre-vingt-dix-huit ratls. La différence en moins est de deux ratls pour chaque cent ratls. Le poids de la *roummânah* est, par exemple, de dix ratls. Tu multiplieras le poids de la *roummânah* par la différence des deux pesées, c'est-à-dire par deux ratls. Le produit de la multiplication est vingt ratls. Tu prendras leur rapport aux cent, qui sont le montant de l'objet pesé avec le *qarastouïn* (défectueux). [fo. 179r.] Ce rapport en est le cinquième. Conséquemment nous augmenterons la *roummânah* d'un cinquième de ratl, et par suite les poids qu'elle nous fournira avec le *qarastouïn* seront exacts.

De même, si la pesée donnée par ce *qarastouïn* dépassait le poids véritable de deux ratls pour chaque cent ratls, et que la *roummânah* fût du poids de dix ratls, nous diminuerions celle-ci d'un cinquième de ratl et le poids fourni deviendrait également exact.

Si, développant la différence entre les deux pesées, qui est de deux ratls, nous en faisons des metqâls, ce qui nous donnerait cent quatre-vingts metqâls,¹ et qu'après avoir multiplié ce nombre par le poids de la *roummânah*, égal à dix ratls, nous divisassions le produit de la multiplication, c'est-à-dire mille huit cents metqâls, par l'objet pesé, soit cent [fo. 179v.] ratls, le quotient de cette division donnerait dix-

¹ Le texte porte par erreur *ratl*. L'auteur nous apprend au Chapitre III. que le ratl de Baghdâd compte 90 metqâls ; $90 \times 2 = 180$.

huit metqâls, qui représentent un cinquième de ratl. Nous ajouterions ce (poids) à la *roummânah*, et la pesée qu'elle nous fournirait serait juste.

C'est suivant cette analogie qu'on devra corriger toute défectuosité se rattachant à la *roummânah*, en augmentant ou diminuant celle-ci, lorsqu'elle n'est pas juste.

La défectuosité provenant de la courbure et de la tortuosité du fléau, ou de la mauvaise division des marques et des traits qu'on y a tracés, se reconnaît à ce que, lorsqu'on pèse avec cet instrument des quantités différentes, le poids sort tantôt juste et tantôt inégal; le poids inégal ne représente pas toujours une même quantité et n'est pas non plus [fo. 180r.] dans une proportion (constante).

La défectuosité provenant de la courbure et de la tortuosité du fléau est reconnaissable au toucher et à la vue. On la corrige en redressant le fléau et faisant disparaître sa courbure et sa tortuosité.

Quant à la défectuosité qui a sa cause dans une division irrégulière des marques et des traits, on la reconnaît en essayant la *roummânah*, le plateau et le fléau, et (en s'assurant de) leur exactitude. En effet s'ils sont justes et que néanmoins la romaine nous donne des pesées inégales, on saura que la cause doit en être attribuée à la (mauvaise) division des marques, des chiffres¹ et des traits. Le moyen de remédier à cette défectuosité consiste à changer la graduation² du fléau; ce que tu feras en opérant comme suit: Tu regarderas quel est le poids de la *roummânah*; on prendra au compas la distance comprise entre le *charh* (point de suspension) de l'*aqrab* (crochet de la '*euddah*) et le milieu du *mesmâr* [fo. 180v.] de la suspension; on divisera le bras le plus long par cette quantité autant de fois qu'elle y entrera, et nous ferons chacune des marques des ratls et fractions représentant cette quantité, exactement correspondante au poids de la *roummânah*. En effet, cette opération faite, la graduation (*taqsîm*) et la pesée (*wazn*) deviendront justes.

¹ Litt. " De l'écriture."

² *Taqsîm wa tahdîd*.

En somme, pour toute romaine qui donne des pesées inégales, lorsque l'irrégularité se manifeste de la même manière, que le poids de l'objet soit donné en plus ou en moins, cette inégalité a pour cause l'excès ou le manque (de poids) du plateau et de ses suspensions, ou la pesanteur ou la légèreté du bras le plus long du fléau. Si l'inégalité s'y produit [fo. 181r.] dans une proportion (constante), augmentant quand la chose pesée augmente, et diminuant lorsqu'elle diminue, c'est qu'alors la *roummânah* est trop ou trop peu pesante. Enfin, quand l'inégalité (des pesées) augmente ou diminue, en dehors de toute proportion suivie, la cause réside dans le fléau : elle provient de la courbure (du fléau) ou d'une mauvaise graduation.

XVI. CHAPITRE SEIZIÈME.

Sur la confection d'une balancee faisant connaître le poids de l'or et celui de son prix (ثمن), quand son poids est inconnu et que son taux (سعر) est supposé connu.

Prenons un fléau droit et régulier, et divisons-le en huit parties égales ; plaçons sa suspension de telle sorte que l'un des deux bras soit le huitième du fléau, et divisons le bras le plus long, [fo. 181v.] qui contient sept divisions, en dix parties égales ; puis partageons ces dix divisions en soixante, et admettons pour chaque six divisions (le poids d') un derham, afin que chacune des six corresponde à un sixième de derham : le tout égalera dix derhams. Suspendons au bras le plus long un petit plateau. Donnons-lui aussi comme *roummânah* (contre-poids) un plateau se mouvant sur le fléau, et donnons au grand plateau, suspendu au bras le plus court, un poids qui fasse équilibre à la fois au petit plateau suspendu au bras le plus long, et au plateau servant de *roummânah*, lorsque celle-ci est posée à l'extrémité des soixante divisions, de telle sorte que, la balance étant suspendue et les

trois plateaux se trouvant vides, le [fo. 182r.] fléau demeure horizontal.

Si on nous donne un morceau inconnu d'or dont le taux soit supposé de tant, et que nous voulions savoir quel est le montant de son prix, à raison de ce taux, nous examinerons (le cas) :

Le taux est-il inférieur à dix derhams pour un dînâr? nous laisserons le plateau qui sert de *roummânah*, suspendu à l'endroit du fléau correspondant à cette quantité (de derhams), et mettrons, dans le petit plateau suspendu au bras le plus long, de petites tares¹ en nombre suffisant pour faire équilibre au grand plateau et au fléau. Ensuite tu placeras l'or dans le plateau qui sert de *roummânah*, et tu mettras dans le grand plateau un nombre tel de derhams² que le poids se trouve équilibré et que le fléau devienne horizontal. Le nombre des derhams qu'il prendra [fo. 182v.] sera le montant du prix de l'or au taux (ou change) dont il s'agit.

Si tu veux connaître le montant (مبلغ) de ces derhams,³ sors-les du plateau et remplace-les par des étalons (سنج)⁴ de l'argent, d'un poids (مقدار) équivalent : tu obtiendras ainsi la détermination de ce montant.

Si tu désires savoir quel est le montant (du poids) de l'or (en metqâls), retire-le du plateau-*roummânah* où tu lui substitueras des étalons de l'or en poids égal. Tu détermineras ainsi le montant de cet or (en metqâls).

Le taux de l'or est-il supérieur à dix derhams par dînâr, et inférieur à vingt? pose le plateau qui sert de *roummânah*, à l'extrémité des divisions tracées sur le fléau,—ce qui est la marque des dix (derhams),—et mets-y l'or. Place dans le grand plateau la quantité de derhams voulue pour [fo. 183r.] amener l'équilibre du fléau et son horizontalité : ce sera le

¹ سقوم, pluriel de سقم. Tel est évidemment le sens de ce mot, qui ne se trouve pas dans le Dictionnaire de M. Kazimirski.

² C'est-à-dire, de derhams au change ou taux de l'or donné.

³ C'est-à-dire de ces derhams (monnaie courante), en derhams (poids), ou soit en derhams légaux.

⁴ Ce mot a généralement le sens de poids étalon ; quelquefois cependant il désigne, comme le mot رمانة, le contre-poids d'une romaine, ainsi qu'on le voit dans le traité d'El Djabarty, sur les balances.

prix de cet or au taux de dix derhams par dinâr. Ensuite enlève les derhams du (grand) plateau et, les laissant de côté,¹ place le plateau-*roummânah* à la marque du fléau qui correspond au complément du montant du taux ; puis, après l'avoir équilibré au moyen des petites tares (السقوم), mets-y l'or et place dans le grand plateau un nombre de derhams qui produise son équilibre avec le fléau, comme tu l'as fait précédemment : tu obtiendras le complément de l'or. Ajoute-le² à ce que tu avais obtenu en premier lieu ; le total représentera le coût (de l'or, en derhams, au taux donné).

Veux tu savoir quel est le montant de l'or ? Après avoir retiré du grand plateau chaque pesée³ qu'il (t')aura donnée, mets à la place (de cette pesée) des étalons de l'argent [fo. 183r.] en quantité suffisante pour amener son équilibre avec le fléau. Regarde à combien s'élève ce total : ce sera le montant (du poids en derhams).⁴

Veux-tu connaître le montant (du poids) de l'or (en metqâls) ? sors-le du plateau, une seule fois, et remplace-le par des étalons de l'or, à chaque pesée,⁵ comme tu le fais avec les poids de l'argent.

L'or pèse-t-il⁶ plus de vingt derhams et moins de trente, place le plateau servant de *roummânah*, à la dernière division du fléau, deux fois ;⁷ mets dans le grand plateau, des derhams de quoi produire son équilibre avec le fléau, et laisse de côté ce que cela te donnera de derhams. Puis place le plateau de

¹ واعزلها .

² Bien que le MS. porte *فَرَدَّ*, il est évident qu'il faut lire *فَزَدَّ*.

³ كُلِّ وَزْنِهِ (sic).

⁴ Le MS. porte ici *الثمن* (le coût, le prix), au lieu de *المبلغ* (le montant).

⁵ فِي كُلِّ وَزْنِهِ .

⁶ وَأَنْ كَانَ وَزْنُ الذَّهَبِ أَلْحَ . Au lieu *وزن*, il faudrait lire *سعر* (taux, cours, change), et traduire "Le taux de l'or est-il supérieur à vingt derhams, etc." ; ou bien entendre par cette expression, que le poids de l'or correspond à ce taux : les musulmans recevaient en effet leur monnaie au poids et non au compte, sauf pour des quantités inférieures à une once (أَوْقِيَّة). Cf. Le Commentaire de

Baydâwy, sur xii. v. 20.

⁷ C'est-à-dire répète l'opération deux fois ; ce qui donnera vingt derhams.

la *roummânah* sur la division qui correspond au complément du montant du taux, et opère comme je te l'ai indiqué précédemment : [fo. 184r.] tu obtiendras le montant du coût¹ (de l'or).

C'est de cette façon qu'il y aura lieu de procéder, quand le taux du dinâr sera supérieur à trente, quarante ou cinquante derhams. Sache cela, et agis par analogie, s'il plait à Dieu.

Fin de la dissertation *sur les poids, les mesures et les balances*, par *Mâr Eliyâ*, métropolitain de Nésibe, que Dieu accorde le repos à son âme, et qu'il² fasse mention de nous dans ses prières ! Amen !

¹ مبالغ الثمن .

² C'est-à-dire le saint archevêque.

ART. XII.—*On Imperial and other Titles.* By SIR T. E.
COLEBROOKE, Bart., M.P.

THE collection of specimens of imperial titles which will be found in this paper was begun during the recent discussions in Parliament, and with reference to India only. When it was proposed to add to the titles hitherto borne by the Sovereigns of the British Isles another, which was supposed to be more expressive of the relation of the Crown of England to the people and princes of India, it seemed to me important to inquire what were the titles borne by the sovereigns of dynasties in the East whose power could alone compare with our own. Many of the titles of honour, and especially sovereign titles, which have been at different times current in the East, bear a different significance to those in Europe; and to apply to an Eastern dominion titles which had their origin in the public law and policy of the Western world seemed an anachronism, and likely to lead to confusion of language and ideas. Popular language has, indeed, long applied the title of Emperor to the sovereigns of extensive dominions in the East. So far is this carried that it is almost universally used in speaking of all the great monarchies in Asia in modern times, and by grave historians. We read of Emperors of China, of India, of Tartary, and of Constantinople. Thus Gibbon, speaking of Timur, says that the title of Emperor was borne by all his descendants,¹ referring, I suppose, to the rulers at Dehli. He also renders the title *Amir* by Emperor, and the *Amir il Omra* becomes Emperor Imperatorum, though these titles bear only a faint analogy to the imperial titles of Europe. Even De Guignes, from whom we should have expected more care, applies the title indiscriminately to the

¹ Chap. lxxv.

sovereigns of China and to the great Tatar chiefs; and even in speaking of the wives of Kublai Khan, he says, "Il avoit épousé cinq femmes, dont plusieurs portaient le titre d'imperatrice." With these examples before us, we cannot be surprised that the translators of Eastern works deal in the same loose language, and are led into occasional inconsistencies. Thus the translator of the Travels of Ibn Batuta, following the received rule that, whenever the sovereign of Dehli is spoken of, the title must be rendered Emperor, applies it equally to two of these rulers, who are mentioned in a passage of Ferishta quoted by him; though in the original the title is *Padshah* in the one case, and *Sultan* in the other: while in the same passage, which only consists of eight lines, mention is made of a history of the *Padshahs* of Hindustan, where the title is rendered Kings, as is, also, that of *Malik* Toghlak, the father of one of these sovereigns.¹

I will add one more example of the carelessness of which I complain, and which I take from the Memoirs of Timur, translated by Major Stewart for the Oriental Translation Fund. It is in the list of the titles by which that great conqueror was described in the Khutbeh or public prayer after his election to the head of the state, and it is one in which we might expect some accuracy. It runs as follows:—"O Lord, assist the Muselman armies and camps wherever they are or wherever they may be, whether in the East or in the West, by the good fortune of the just Sultan, the illustrious Khacan, the renowned *Emperor*, the exalted *Prince*, the Khacan son of the Khacan, Amyr Timur Goorghan; may God perpetuate his dominion and government, and extend his beneficence and justice to all Muselmans."

We have here three of the titles which have been at different times associated with Imperial rule, *Sultan*, *Khan* or *Khacan*, and *Amir* (Commander), but we have nothing to indicate the equivalents of those which are in italics. There are other titles, besides those above mentioned, which have

¹ Travels of Ibn Batuta, Dr. Lee's translation, p. 125. It will be shown further on that the title *Malik* was in India one of honour only, and was not borne by reigning princes. This indeed is pointed out by this traveller in another passage.

been also borne by great monarchs, and I have found it interesting to trace them to their origin, as far as this was possible, to observe the higher significance that became attached to some of them with the progress of conquest or with the rise of new dynasties, and to follow them in their decline. In carrying out my inquiries the subject grew on my hands, and I thought the result would prove of interest to this Society, and I have accordingly thrown together a few remarks upon it.

Before entering upon the Eastern or principal branch of my subject, it will not be out of place to offer a short review of the imperial title in Europe itself. It has undergone great changes since it was applied to the commanders of the armies of a republic. It is associated with the military sway of the early Roman empire, and with the oriental despotism of the same empire in its decline; with the conquest of the Franks, and with a sort of half-feudal half-military commonwealth in Germany; with the rule of the Czars in Russia, and with the arms of Napoleon; and it has been applied to sovereigns, in still more modern instances, where its original signification has been quite lost sight of. It is interesting to trace these changes, and it is necessary to keep them in mind when we come to comment upon the rise and fall of Eastern governments to which the imperial title is applied. I will commence by tracing its history from its very source.

EMPEROR.

The military authority, to which the term Imperium was applied during the Republic, was as old as the Kings, and was conveyed by a special vote of the Comitia Curiata. This appears distinctly from Cicero's account of the election of Tullius Hostilius (*de Rep.* ii. 17), of Ancus Martius (ii. 18),¹ and L. Tarquinius (ii. 20). It was conferred by the same authority on the Consuls, or governors of provinces, and on all, in fact, who were invested with military authority. It appears, from an often-quoted passage of Tacitus (*Annals*, ii.

¹ "Itemque de imperio suo legem curiatam tulit." The same expression, slightly varied, is applied to each case.

74), that it was the ancient practice for soldiers to salute their generals, after great victories, with the title of Imperator, and that there might be many contemporary generals bearing the title. But in all these cases it was an official title, added to the name, betokening authority, which might be of a temporary nature. It is recorded by Suetonius, that among the excessive honours and titles assumed by Julius Cæsar, he took the *prænomen* of Imperator, thereby connecting it especially with his name.¹ It is well known with what caution Augustus avoided such outward demonstrations of authority. “*Nomine Principis sub imperium recepit*,” is the emphatic statement of Tacitus,² and it was as Princeps, or chief of the senate,—a dignity of the highest rank in the Republic,—that he and his immediate successors were habitually spoken of in contemporary literature.³ So little was the title Imperator especially associated with the head of the State, during the early period of the Empire, that Tiberius conferred it on his stepsons Tiberius, Nero, and Claudius Drusus.⁴ Blæsus had the honour of being the last Roman, not being one of the reigning family, on whom the title was conferred by the legions with the consent of the head of the State.⁵ From that time it was confined to the prince, or those associated with him in the government. On one memorable occasion, indeed, this honour was conferred on a successful general, not being one of the ruling princes; this was on the capture of Jerusalem. Josephus, after describing the burning of the Temple, proceeds: “And now the Romans, upon

¹ Suetonius, lxxvi. Non enim honores modo nimios recepit, ut continuum consulatum, perpetuam dictaturam præfecturamque morum; insuper *prænomen imperatoris*, cognomen patris patriæ, statuum inter reges, suggestum in orchestra; sed et ampliora etiam humano fastidio decerni sibi passus est.

² Annal. i. 1.

³ The personal appellation Cæsar was of course in constant use, and especially in addressing them. Thus Horace

Hic ames dici pater atque *Princeps*.

Neu sinas Medos equitare inultos,

Te duce, *Cæsar*.—(Od. i. 2.)

For examples of the use of Princeps I may refer to Juvenal, viii. 198, 226; x. 76, 93.

⁴ Tacitus, Annal. i. 3.

⁵ Annal. iii. 74: Concessit quibusdam et Augustus id vocabulum, et tunc Tiberius Blæso *postremum*.

the flight of the seditious into the city, and upon the burning of the holy house itself, and of all the buildings round about it, brought their ensigns to the temple, and set them over against its eastern gate; and there did they offer sacrifices to them, and there did they make Titus *Imperator* with the greatest acclamations of joy.”¹

Titus was not associated with Vespasian in the government until the following year, and this proceeding on the part of the troops was interpreted as implying a desire by the army to set up a separate government in the East. The suspicion which attached to Titus was augmented by his assuming a diadem soon after in Egypt, in a religious ceremony. Suetonius says there was nothing in this inconsistent with the ancient custom; “sed non deerant qui secius interpretantur.” Accordingly Titus hastened home, and rushing into his father’s presence, he exclaimed, “Veni, pater, veni.”²

Dion Cassius, referring to the time of Julius, takes pains to point out the threefold significance which had at different times attached to the title: that which was conferred after great victories; that which belonged to public officers invested with an independent command (*αὐτοτελῆ ἡγεμονίαν*); and lastly, that which it bore in his own time as connected with the highest authority in the State, and used as a proper name (*τι κύριον*).³

We find in Livy the title constantly applied to generals in command, but it is to the honorary title when conferred by the troops that Publius Scipio refers, as the story is told by the same author, when the soldiers showed a disposition to salute him as king, “Tum Scipio silentium per præconem facto, sibi maximum nomen imperatoris esse, dixit, quo se milites me appellassent, regum nomen alibi magnum, Romæ intolerabile

¹ Whiston’s Josephus, The Jewish War, c. 6.

² Various coins are extant connected with the fall of Jerusalem with this title applied to Titus, see the Numismatic Chronicle for 1876. The inscription on one runs: ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑ ΤΙΤΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΣΕΒ.

³ Dio. lib. xliii. sec. 44: Τό τε τοῦ Ἀυτοκράτορος ὄνομα οὐ κατὰ τὸ ἀρχαῖον ἔτι μόνον ὡσπερ ἄλλοι τε καὶ ἐκεῖνος πολλάκις ἐκ τῶν πολέμων ἐπεκλήθησαν, οὐδ’ ὡς ὁ τινα αὐτοτελῆ ἡγεμονίαν ἢ καὶ ἄλλην τινα ἐξουσίαν λαβόντες, ὠναμάζοντο, ἀλλὰ καθάπαξ τοῦτο δὴ τὸ καὶ νῦν τοῖς τὸ κράτος ἀεὶ ἔχουσι διδόμενον ἐκείνω τότε πρώτῳ τε, καὶ πρώτῳ ὡσπερ τι Κύριον προσέθησαν.

esse.”¹ The honorary title conferred by the troops required to be confirmed by the Senate, and the privilege was zealously guarded. Of this we have an example in an incident in the second Punic war, when L. Marcius, after restoring the affairs of Spain, addressed the Senate as “Proprætor,” to which the imperium was attached. His letter began, “Proprætor senatui.” This appellation gave offence: “Rem mali exempli esse imperatores legi ab exercitibus.”²

There is much evidence of the value which attached to the dignity before it became associated with the head of the State. With an office of such high honour it is not surprising to find it on the coins of Roman families. Of this I find numerous instances in Vaillant’s Collection, but none which dates beyond the first triumvirate, and then it occurs frequently. That of Pompey is interesting from its simple dignity: Magnus Pius Imp. iter, “The great, the pious. Emperor for the second time.”

Those of Antony are various. In one he is associated with Julius, the head of each being given on either side, the inscription running M. Antoni. Imp. In another he is associated with Augustus, Antonius Imp. on one side, and Cæsar Imp. on the other, to denote concord.

I add one more of Antonius, marking another coalition, and the use of the title in Greek. Autocrator became the received translation of the Latin word. It was not originally confined to military authority. There were *αὐτοκράτορες πολεμικοί*, and *περὶ εἰρήνης*, also *πρεσβευταὶ αὐτοκράτορες*, ministers plenipotentiary.³ The inscription on the coin of Antony to which I now refer runs as follows:

M. ΑΝΤΩΝΙΟΣ ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΩΡ ΤΡΙΤΟΝ ΤΡΙΩΝ ΑΝΔΡΩΝ

“M. Antonius, Autocrat, third of the three men (triumvirs).”

On the reverse:

ΒΑΣΙΛΙΣΣΑ ΚΛΕΟΠΑΤΡΑ ΘΕΑ ΝΕΩΤΕΡΑ.

“Queen Cleopatra, a new goddess.”

¹ Livy, xxvi. 2.

² Livy, xxvi. 2: “Titulus honoris (quod imperio non populi jussu non ex auctoritate patrum dato, proprætor senatui, scripserat), magnam partem hominum offendebat. Rem mali exempli esse imperatores legi ab exercitibus.”

³ Spanheim, de usu numismatum, vol. ii. p. 181.

On another coin of Antony, in which the name of Cleopatra appears, she is described quaintly as "The Queen of Kings, Sons of Kings." The full inscription thus: *Antoni, Armenia devicta, Cleopatrar, Reginar regum, filiorum Regum.*

Great importance evidently attached to the title during the civil wars, and it was occasionally conferred by the troops, without the sanction of the Senate, or its connexion with any great military success. In Vaillant's work I find several of the Cæcilian family connected with this period, two especially, who are referred to in the Commentaries of Cæsar, *De Bello Civili*. One of these, M. Metellus Scipio, retired to Africa after the disaster of Pharsalia, and was saluted with the title of *Imperator* by his army. Another curious instance is quoted by Rawlinson in his *Sixth Oriental Monarchy*. Labienus heard of the defeat of his friends while he was at the Parthian court, to which he was sent by Brutus and Cassius; and, dreading the impending proscription, he accepted a command from the Parthian ruler, and invaded Syria, assuming the title *Imperator*, and this appears on the coins issued by him. The inscription runs: "*Qu. Labienus Parthicus Imp.*" He was afterwards defeated by Antony's forces and put to death.

In the time of Augustus the sword appears in its myrtle sheath. The imperial authority was constantly renewed, and the title implying military command is merged in the old civil titles of the Republic. This reserve did not lessen his authority in any degree, for the proconsular power, which was exercised in the provinces, carried with it that of war and peace and unlimited command over the army. A single example of the imperial style will probably suffice. I give one late in his career, which appears on an inscription at Rimini: *Imp. Cæsar. Divi. F. Aug. Pont. Max. Cos. XIII. Imp. XXI. Tribunic. Potest. XXXVII. P.P.*, "The Emperor Cæsar son of the divine (Cæsar), Augustus, Pontifex Maximus XIIIth, Consulate XXIst, Tribunician authority XXXVIIth, Father of the Country."

The policy of Augustus was followed by his immediate

successors. The early Emperors guarded themselves against the assumption of the title within the city, and the *prænomen*, which roused the jealousy of the Romans when assumed by Julius Cæsar, was refused by Tiberius (Suet. iii. 26), and by Claudius (Suet. v. 12). The former is said to have often declared, "I am the master of my slaves, Emperor of my troops, and chief of the citizens."¹ The Abbé de la Blérierie, who has examined this question with great care, says that none of the medals struck at Rome give this title to Tiberius as a *prænomen*. He also observes that the elder Pliny, while speaking of the predecessors of Vespasian, never applies to them the title of Emperor, but he constantly uses it in addressing Vespasian and Titus; and the Abbé explains this on the ground that, as commander of the fleet, he recognized the Vespasians as his special chiefs. So, also, Pliny the younger addresses Trajan as *Imperator*, because he commanded the troops in the province of Bithynia under his authority.²

The same jealousy applied also to the insignia of office. The *paludamentum*, or military habit, was never borne within the city during the first two centuries and a half of imperial rule. Vitellius is described by Tacitus³ as parting with this dress and assuming the *toga*, at the instance of his friends, and at the very time when he was prepared to sack Rome, as a city taken by assault. In the opinion of the Abbé de la Blérierie in the same essay,⁴ Gallienus was the first to display the purple robe within the city. But this was in that period of confusion when the provinces were dismembered and the Empire brought to the verge of ruin by the military tyrants, each assuming the imperial title. Long ere this the command of the army was the foundation of authority, and the wonder is that the respect for the forms of the Republic should have

¹ Και πολλάκις γε ἔλεγεν ὅτι δεσπότης μὲν τῶν δούλων αὐτοκράτωρ δὲ τῶν στρατιώτων τῶν δὲ τῶν λοιπῶν πρόκριτος εἰμι.—Dio. 57.

² Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions, vol. xxi.

³ Hist. ii. 89: Ipse Vitellius a Ponte Milvio, insigni equo, paludatus accinctusque, senatum ac populum ante se agens, quominus ut captam urbem ingrederetur, amicorum consilio deterritus, sumptâ pretextâ et composito agmine incessit.

⁴ Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions, vol. xxiv.

lasted so long. The transition was gradual, and it is easy to trace the steps by which the title of Emperor overshadowed every other, and gave a name and character to a dominion which has lasted, in name at least, to our own time.

While republican forms prevailed, the title of king of course never appeared. It is said by the same French writer, to whose careful essays I have already referred, that the first Latin writer who made use of the title in addressing the Emperor was Statius. In some lines addressed to Domitian on his 17th Consulate, he says :

Longamque tibi, REX magne, juventam
Annuit atque suos promisit Jupiter annos.

Martial, though using very freely the words Lord and God, abstained from that of king during Domitian's lifetime. This reserve, it is said, was maintained by Latin authors till the fourth century. With the Greeks it was otherwise, and one of the results of the transfer of the seat of government to the Bosphorus was to bring into use the title of βασιλεύς, and sometimes that of *παμβασιλεύς*. Writers of the fourth and fifth centuries, and especially ecclesiastics, apply the title to the head of the state, but it is never assumed by the Emperors themselves. A curious passage from a Greek author, Synesius, addressed to the Emperor Arcadius, is quoted in the above essay. I give the translation, as it shows that the constitutional import of the title Emperor was maintained in the fifth century :

“The title of king is of modern usage, having been abandoned from the time of the extinction of the Tarquins. Hence it is that although we apply to you this title of honour, both orally and in writing, you, whether from intention or from custom, abstain from assuming it as something too proud and haughty. In your addresses to cities, to individuals, to public officers, or barbarian rulers, you abstain from the name of king, but take that of Emperor. This title means the general of an army invested with full power, just as Pericles and Iphicrates at Athens were imperial generals (*αὐτοκράτορες στρατηγῶν*).”

While these scruples prevailed regarding constitutional forms, the adulation of the Emperors went beyond what is recorded of despotic sovereigns, even in Asia. The outward form of worship of the Emperor, the refusal of which caused the martyrdom of the Christians, ceased with the conversion to Christianity; but the substance remained. The inscription on the Arch of Constantine records his delivery of the republic from the tyrant and his faction, by the inspiration of divinity and the greatness of his mind.¹ Dean Stanley, in his work on the Eastern Church, charitably assumes that in this the Senate ascribes his victory to Providence. I think we need not resort to such explanations with regard to a sovereign whose Christianity was of a dubious character, and whose coins, as pointed out by Dr. Stanley, bear the name of Christ on one side and the figure of the Sun God and the inscription "Sol invictus" on the other, and who, although abstaining from the ascent to the Capitol to return thanks to Jupiter after his victory over Maxentius, accepted on this occasion the title of Pontifex Maximus, a title which was also borne by his successors, and among others by Valentinian and Valens. Zosimus, who records this fact, adds that when the robe of office was offered to Gratian, it was refused as unbecoming his profession of Christianity. Zosimus is a writer unfriendly to the Christians, and his statements have been questioned by many writers, who were slow to give credit to the paganism of the imperial government during the rule of Constantine and his successors; but their arguments are summed up in an elaborate essay by the Baron de la Bastie,² who produces accumulated proofs, from existing medals, and from public monuments, that the title was borne by Constantine at a later period of his reign, and three years after the Council of Nice, when his orthodoxy might be supposed to be insured. I give it in full, as illustrative of the style of this period, and marking the transition from the Divus of the early

¹ Instinctu divinitatis et mentis magnitudine. The term divine instinct, is usually applied to oracular inspiration.

² Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions, vol. xv.

Emperors to the new title of Dominus, which superseded ultimately that of Emperor :

D.N. IMP CAES
 FL. CONSTANTINO
 P.F. VICTORI. AUG
 PONT. MAX
 TRIB. POT. XXIII
 IMP. XXII. COS. VII
 PP. PROCOS. CONS
 HUMANARUM. RERUM
 DIVI CONSTANTII. FILIO
 BONO R.P. NATO
 M.P. XV.

I add another inscription in illustration of the preceding remarks, recording the restoration of a Roman bridge by the Emperors Valentinian and Valens. Each is Emperor, Cæsar, Pontifex Maximus ; each records the various territorial titles assumed by them or conferred by the Senate, a custom which came down from the times of the Republic, and was expanded in the way here shown, until it reached the height of extravagance in the time of Justinian :

DOMINI NOSTRI IMPERATORES CAESARES FL VALENTINIANUS
 PIUS FELIX MAX. VICTOR AC TRIUMF. SEMPER AUG
 PONTIF. MAXIMUS GERMANIC. MAX. ALAMANN. MAX. FRANC
 MAX. GOTH. MAX. TRIB. POT. VII. IMP. VI. COS. II. PPP. ET
 FL. VALENS PIUS FELIX MAX. VICTOR AC TRIUMF
 SEMPER AUG. PONTIF. MAX. GERMANIC. MAX. ALAMANN
 MAX. FRANC. MAX. GOTHIC. MAX. TRIB. POT. VII. IMP. VI
 COS. II. PPP. ET. FL. GRATIANUS PIUS FELIX MAX. VICTOR
 AC TRIUMF. SEMPER AUG. PONTIF. MAX. GERMANIC
 MAX. ALAMANN. MAX. FRANC. MAX. GOTHIC. MAX. TRIB
 POT. III. IMP. II. COS PRIMUM PPP. PONTEM FELICIS
 NOMINIS GRATIANI IN USUM SENATUS AC POPULI
 ROM CONSTITUI DEDICARIQ. IUSSERUNT.

The history of the first Roman Empire may be said to have closed with its division between the sons of Theodosius at the close of the fourth century. At the beginning of that which followed, Western Europe was overrun by the barbarians, and parcelled out among the Goths, Huns, and Vandals. From the death of Honorius in 423, to that of the last of the western Emperors, some fifty years later, the

authority of those who assumed the purple scarcely extended beyond the walls of Rome. The successor of Honorius was invested with the diadem and the purple by the Patriarch Helion in the presence of the Senate and under the authority of the reigning conqueror at Constantinople. The remainder of the line of phantom princes reigned under the authority and at the will of barbarian princes or their generals.

It shows how low the imperial dignity had now fallen, that neither Goth, Vandal, nor Lombard cared to assume the title which was associated with five centuries of Roman power. Procopius relates that Theodoric refused the title of Emperor, being content with that of king. But the very name of Roman citizen had now become a byeword. Salvian, who wrote in the fifth century, says that it was repudiated and shunned, and the rule of the barbarians was accepted by the province. "Those who do not fly to the barbarians become themselves barbarians."¹ The title of Rex came again into use. Among some specimens of the early coinage given by Spanheim, two inscriptions run simply D. N. Theodoratus Rex, or D. N. Baduela Rex. Though they did not imitate the titles, they vied with the Eastern court in costume. Their kings appear on the coins decked with the tiara and breastplate, after the manner of Constantinople. So also in England the early Kings of the Heptarchy were content with the simple title of Rex, but at a later period the titles of Basileus and Imperator came again into use.²

Long ere this the Emperor had ceased to be a military chief who owed all to his army. In his coronation, indeed, the form was retained of raising him on a shield; but he was surrounded, not by troops, but by the great officers of state. They became the sovereigns, not of a camp, but of a court, dependent on foreign auxiliaries. Nothing illustrates the

¹ Gibbon, cap. xxxv. Sharon Turner's Anglo-Saxons, vol. i. p. 184. Spanheim de usu numismatum, eighth dissertation.

² A long list of these titles appeared in the *Athenæum* of April 8th, 1876, extracted by Mr. W. de Gray Birch from Kemble's *Codex Diplomaticus Ævi Saxonici* and other works. Imperial titles of every variety came into use latterly, but, from the beginning of the seventh century downwards, that of Rex was commonly used by all sovereigns without exception.

change more completely than the externals of sovereignty. The wreath of the early Emperors is exchanged for a diadem, and instead of the military paludamentum, we see robes of the greatest magnificence. The open assumption of the diadem is attributed to Dioclesian, though Caligula had used it on private occasions. Eutropius says of him, “*Diademate imposito dominum se appellari jussit,*” as if there were some special connexion between this oriental emblem of rule and the servile title. The same author says of Dioclesian “*adorari se jussit nam ante eum cuncti imperatores ut judices salutarerentur,*” and speaking of the jewels which covered his robes, he adds, “*nam prius imperii insigne in chlamyde tantum erat, reliquaque communia.*”

Constantine wore the diadem habitually, and was curious in his selection of pearls and other precious stones, but the simple diadem was gradually increased until it swelled into the large and high crown which we find in later representations.

I close this part of my subject with a few examples of the titles employed in the styles of some of the Emperors of the later period. I take the first from the Civil Law. It is of Zeno (474 A.D.), and heads an Imperial constitution: *Ἀυτοκράτωρ Κάισαρ Ζήνων Εὐσεβῆς Νικητῆς τροπαιοῦχος ἀίμεγιστος ἀείσεβαστος*, “Zeno, Autocrat, Cæsar, the pious, the triumpher, always the greatest, always the most venerated Augustus.” I may add that of Justinian, prefixed to the Institutes, as an example of the extreme use of titles derived from nations subdued: “Imperator Cæsar, Flavius, Justinianus, Alemanicus, Gothicus, Francicus, Germanicus, Anticus, Alanicus, Vandalicus, Africanus, Pius, Felix, Inclytus, Victor ac triumphator, Semper Augustus.” That which is prefixed to the Code is more simple: “*Tituli codicis D. Justiniani Sacratissimi Principis PP.A.*” Notwithstanding the use of the modest title of Prince, the edicts and constitutions invariably appear with the heading of Emperor or Autocrat, or, according as they are in Latin or Greek, with an occasional use of Basileus, which came now to be used as the equivalent of Emperor. The imperial constitutions extend from

Hadrian to Justinian, and it is instructive to observe how completely the military authority is recognized as the fountain of law, and it is employed whether the edict be addressed to the prefect of Constantinople or to the archbishop of the same city.

The title *Basileus* comes into frequent use when there are successive edicts by the same sovereign; *ὁ αὐτὸς βασιλεὺς* is generally substituted for *αὐτοκράτωρ* in the succeeding documents. But at a later period *Basileus* almost superseded that of *Autocrat*. So much was it regarded as the special title of the rulers of Constantinople, that *Basilius* the Macedonian, in the tenth century, took offence at Pope Hadrian II. using the title *Basileus* in speaking of Lewis II., in a letter addressed to Constantinople. The title was ordered to be erased from the letter, and an embassy of remonstrance was addressed to Lewis. Selden records, at length, the special reply which was afforded to the Emperor of the East, but it amounts to nothing more than that there were many rulers in the world, besides the sovereign at Constantinople, who used this ancient designation.

I must pass over the long period which elapsed from the division of the Roman Empire between the sons of Theodosius at the close of the fourth century and the final extinction of the Eastern Empire in the fifteenth century, with a very few remarks.

If it was one of the aims of Constantine, in transferring the seat of government from the Tiber to the Bosphorus, to sever the government from the old traditions of the Republic, and lay the foundations of a new policy, it was most successful. The Court of Constantinople became a scene of frivolous ceremonial, encircled with grades of dignities which guarded every approach to the throne. "In this divine hierarchy (for such it is frequently styled) every rank was marked with the most scrupulous exactness, and its dignity was displayed in a variety of trifling and solemn ceremonies, which it was a study to learn and a sacrilege to neglect." This is the language of Gibbon, and for details

I need only refer to the graphic description of the state of the government as it existed in the time of Constantine, and again in the tenth century, in the seventeenth and fifty-third chapters of his history.

Illustrations of the change which it underwent are to be found on the coinage of the Empire. The titles of the republic passed away, and that of Dominus or δεσπότης gradually came into use and even took the place of Imperator on the coinage, and marked the increasing servility of the Court. Gibbon says that Julian refused the title of Dominus or lord, a word which was grown so familiar to the ears of the Romans that they no longer remembered its servile and humiliating origin.¹ In a note he refers to the life of Jovian by the Abbé de la Blérierie, who has traced the origin and progress of the word Dominus under the Imperial Government.² Still more curious is the history of the title δεσπότης, originally applied to the master of slaves, and so used in the expression of Tiberius that I have quoted above. It was afterwards applied to the Emperors, and is frequent on the coins of the later Empire. In the acts of the Council of Ephesus occurs the expression: “τὴν νίκην καὶ σωτηρίαν δεσποτοῦ τῆς οἰκουμένης.” At the Council of Chalcedon the title of the Emperor Marcian runs: “δεσπότης γῆς καὶ θαλάσσης καὶ πάντων ἀνθρώπων ἐθνῶς.”³

¹ It appears, however, on his coins.—Gibbon.

² The subject has also been treated very fully in one of Spanheim's Dissertations, and by Selden (Titles of Honour). Augustus issued an edict against its use, and Tiberius is also said to have repelled it. The compliments which were paid to them and to Trajan for rejecting it are duly recorded. The following, from Ovid, in his parallel between Augustus and Romulus, may be taken as an example:

“Vis tibi grata fuit, florent sub Cæsare leges.

Tu *Domini* nomen, Principis ille tenet.”

And yet even Augustus, according to Dio, did not object to be addressed by the obnoxious title when it came from Cleopatra; χαίρει δὲ δεσπότης were the terms. A curious instance of the odium which attached to the title is recorded by Josephus: “The sicarii or banditti, who fled to Egypt during the troubles in Judæa, suffered every torture rather than address Cæsar as their Lord, Θεὸν δὲ μόνον ἠγγήσασθαι δεσπότην.”—Jewish War, book vii. From the time of Dioclesian the title comes into constant use, and writers of a later period use the term habitually in speaking of the head of government in place of the title Emperor. The third preface of the Digest of Justinian applies it to our Saviour, it runs: ἐν ὀνοματί τοῦ δεσποτοῦ καὶ Θεοῦ ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ.

³ Ducange, Glossarium.

The term Despot, like other imperial titles, was subsequently conferred on members of the reigning family. Of the five titles, which in the tenth century were so conferred, Despot occupies the first place. They run as follows: 1. Despot; 2. Sebastocrator (a strange compound of Sebastos and Autocrator); 3. Cæsar; 4. Pan-hyper-sebastos; 5. Proto-sebastos. Selden proves very elaborately that the term was not, in the later empire, confined to the heir apparent, but was bestowed on other members of the reigning family. Subsequently it was assumed by governors of provinces, and thus we read of the Despots of Moldavia, of Servia, and of Bulgaria. Gibbon mentions that a member of the house of Angeli assumed the title of Despot in Epirus, and held it against the Latins; but this was at a time when Greek Emperors were reigning at Trebizond and at Nicæa.

From the time of Justinian, Christian emblems came into more frequent use, and mark the close connexion between the head of the government and that which was now the religion of the State. The alliance of the State with religion was always maintained during the Republic, and in the early Empire. The influence which belonged to the exercise of religious functions was zealously guarded by the Roman aristocracy, and the power of the Emperors would have been incomplete if they had not been invested with the same authority. When the head of the state became a Christian, he assumed the same authority of interference in the affairs of the Church, and we know how fully this was exercised by Constantine and his successors. They summoned and presided at councils, decided controversies, and made and unmade bishops, and the Church remained in complete subordination to the head of the State. The first Emperor that condescended to receive the crown from the hands of an ecclesiastic was Leo I. The fact is duly recorded by Gibbon, and animadverted upon as "the origin of a ceremony afterwards adopted by all Christian princes, and from which the clergy have deduced such formidable consequences."¹ Selden traces it no further than to

¹ Gibbon, cap. 36.

Justin, the successor of Justinian. From the authorities quoted by Selden, it appears that Justinian received the diadem from the hands of his uncle; but it is expressly recorded of Justin by a contemporary writer that he was first, after the old fashion, taken upon a shield, and so chosen by acclamation, and then crowned by the Patriarch. The custom so established prevailed till the close of the Empire.

As regards religious emblems, Constantine went no further than to introduce the Christian monogram *XP*. The Cross appeared soon after, and inscriptions expressive of Christian faith increased in number. Thus on a coin of Basilius I find *ΙΗΣΥΣ ΧΡΙΣΤΟΣ ΝΙΚΑ*. The word *ΕΜΜΑΝΘΗΛ* appears on that of John Zimisce and others. On that of Alexius Comnenus the inscription is :

ΑΛΕΞΙΩ ΤΩ ΚΟΜΝΗΝΩ ΔΕΣΠΟΤΗ ΚΕ ΒΟΗΘΕΙ.

The first instance that I find of the head of our Saviour on a coin is in the case of Michael Rhangabé, in the ninth century; angels occasionally appear holding crosses and supporting the prince; subsequently the figure of Christ came to be introduced; in one instance the hand is raised over the head of the sovereign, John Porphyrogenitus, as if in the act of blessing; in another the quaint device is introduced of the figure of Christ, with arms outstretched in the form of a cross, and apparently blessing the Emperor and his consort. The sovereign is Andronicus Comnenus, in the twelfth century.

The figure of the mother of our Lord occasionally appears, either standing with outstretched arms, or bearing the infant Jesus on her knees. The inscriptions run: *Δέσποινα σώζεις*, "O Lady, save us;" or *Θεοτος Βοηθ Ρωμανω*; frequently we have merely the letters *ΜΡ ΘΥ*, that is, *μήτηρ θεου*, "Mother of God." Honour is also rendered to the saints. The Archangel Michael is invoked on a coin of Theodosius I. and other emperors. The inscriptions run: *ὁ ἅγιος μι* or *ἅγιος αρχ μι*. St. George appears on the coins of Alexius I. Comnenus, simply *ὁ Γεωργιος*.

These recurring appeals to divine aid mark the death

struggle which was carried on in the East between Christianity and the religion of Muhammad. The coinage of the Khalifs was also employed in spreading the dogmas of the rising faith. They abound in formularies and texts from the Koran, expressive of the unity and eternity of the Deity, and faith in the divine mission of Muhammad, and the same practice was adopted by subsequent Muhammadan rulers. According to Arabian writers, this struggle arose out of the epistolary correspondence between these great powers. The Khalif used to commence his letters with the Musselman formulary. Upon this the Christian sovereign took offence, and threatened to introduce Christian formularies on his coinage. The Khalifs accordingly resolved to be independent of any foreign supply, and make use of the new coinage to spread their creed. It is said that the faithful were at first scandalized by the holy name of *Allah* being profaned by impure hands.¹ The practice, however, prevailed, and the Christian formularies introduced in rivalry superseded, in a great measure, the Imperial and other titles of the rulers of Constantinople.

Religious feeling was not always predominant in resorting to these sermons on coins. Some of the early coins of the Muhammadans are bilingual, in Arabic and Greek, and bear the signs of the Cross. Commercial views may have had some weight in such circulation; for the resort to the emblems of a rival religion was not confined to the professors of Islam.

It appears from recent numismatic researches that the coinage of some of the Frank Principalities in the East, during the Crusades, was formed in imitation of that of the Arabs, and with the religious formula of the Muhammadans. This is the conclusion to which M. Lavoix arrives, in a memoir which is reviewed in a recent number of the *Revue des deux Mondes*, and it confirms the statement of an Arabian historian, that during the three years which followed the conquest of Tyre, the Franks continued to strike their money

¹ Marsden, vol. i. Introduction, p. xv.

in the name of the Khalifs, but that they subsequently discontinued the practice. Whether this coinage is attributable to the acts of Venetian merchants, who, to supply the wants of trade, struck coins in a form which was likely to prove current in the East, and of which there are other indications, or whether it was part of a policy of conciliation on the part of the conquerors, the fact throws a curious light on the relations between the Christians and Muhammadans in the middle of an intensely religious struggle. The amount of coinage thus thrown into circulation attracted attention and alarm in the West, and, upon the representation of Eudes de Chateauroux, the pontifical legate, who accompanied Louis IX. to the Holy Land, Innocent IV. issued the strongest censure against the practice, and confirmed the letter of excommunication already issued by his legate against the Christians of St. Jean d'Acre and of Tripoli, who struck besants and drachms with the name of Muhammad and the era of the Moslems. He further directs his legate to put an end to this "abominable blasphemy." It appears that another Pope, Clement IV., issued, somewhat later, an injunction against a similar practice by a bishop in the south of France, who struck coins *cum titulo Mahometi*, probably in imitation of those current in Spain.

The sequel of the story, as regards the coinage of Palestine, is curious. The manufacture of these Muhammadan coins was suspended; but to replace them a new coinage was issued, still in Arabic characters, but with the symbols of the Christian faith taking the place of those of the Arabian prophet. A sample of this new coinage is given by M. Lavoix, and it is curious to observe how the Christian formula of the unity of the Deity is made to contrast with those we are familiar with in the coinage of the Khalifs. This coinage was issued during the time of Louis IX.'s stay in St. Jean d'Acre, and M. Lavoix attributes to Saint Louis the act, which he stigmatizes as an act of sacrilege, of issuing Christian money under a Muhammadan type, but which may have been a pious device to give the widest circulation to the doctrines of Christianity.

As an example of this use of the weapon of an enemy, I give below the inscription on a gold coin, in Arabic, now in the National Collection, in imitation of the coinage issued by the Khalifs, substituting the Pope for the Khalif, and the Christian creed for that of Muhammad.¹ A representation of the same coin, with its inscriptions, will be found in the *Trésor de la Numismatique*. The era (Safar) named is that of the Conquest of Spain by Augustus B.C. 38.

I turn from this digression to the history of the Imperial Titles of Modern Europe.

¹ I am indebted to Mr. R. S. Poole, of the British Museum, for the transcription of this curious coin.

DÍNÁR (Gold Coin) OF ALFONSO VIII. OF CASTILLE. A.D. 1158-1214.

Obv. Area.

+

الإمام البيعه

المسيحية بابه رومي

ALF.

Margin.

بسم الاب والابن والروح القدس الله الواحد

ابن وتعمد يكن سلما

Rev. Area.

أمير

القتو القيين

الغنس بن سانحه

أيدة الله

ونصرة

Margin.

ضرب هـ الدينار بمدينه طليطله سنه خمس (?)

وعشرين ومائتين والـ الف بالـ صفر

Size, 1 inch. Weight, 57 grains.

Obv. Area. The Imám of the Church of the Messiah, the Pope of Rome. ALF.

Margin. In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost : whosoever believeth and is baptised shall be saved.

Rev. Area. The Amir of the Catholics, Alfons, son of Sancho ; God aid and succour him.

Margin. This dínár was struck in the city of Toledo, in the year 1225 ? of the Safar.

MODERN EUROPE.

The so-called Roman Empire, revived by Charlemagne, again restored by Otho, and only finally extinguished by the events which followed the battle of Austerlitz, differed as much from the imperial rule of Rome as modern society does from the ancient world, or the Roman legion does from the feudal militia. Its history is connected with that of modern Europe, and I can only briefly indicate the principles of its rule, and the changes it underwent at different periods of a history extending over 800 years.

That which specially distinguished it from the Empire of Rome or Byzantium was that the imperial dignity was something independent of the royal or other titles of sovereignty. Charlemagne had acquired a great empire, which extended from the Elbe to the Ebro, before he assumed the title of Emperor and was crowned by the Pope. The Saxon Emperors owed their election to their extensive possessions, which were still further extended by Otho the Great, and, after successive interregnums, the Princes who were placed at the head of this great confederation were the sovereign rulers of hereditary states.

Its history naturally divides itself into three periods. First, the Carlovingian. The second, from the revival under Otho to the accession of Maximilian at the close of the fifteenth century. The third, the period of Austrian ascendancy. These successive epochs do not admit of a precise definition, but they are sufficient to mark out the changes the empire underwent.

Under the first the revived empire had some claim to the inheritance of the old Roman dominion. The victory of Pepin over the Lombards, when he came to the rescue of the Pope, was transient, and he was content with the title and authority of Patrician,¹ which the Pope assumed the right of

¹ Ducange (*Glossarium ad scriptores mediæ ac infimæ latinitatis*) refers to a seal of Pepin bearing the inscription "Pepius Imperator," but adds significantly, "Si genuinus est." The same authority quotes several instances of the title being applied to French sovereigns of the early dynasties, and among others to Clovis, in a life of St. Fridolin, and to Pepin, in an old Charter, which concludes with the words, "Actum Flaviano Cœnobio, anno 17 Peppini imperatoris,

conveying, and which Pepin bore, together with that of King of the Franks; but under Charlemagne the rule of the Lombards passed away, and Charles became King of the Lombards as well as the Franks, and was crowned Emperor of the Romans at the hands of the Pope.

This revival of the Western Empire grew out of a religious schism, which divided the Western from the Eastern Church. The Popes shook off the authority of Constantinople, but still needed the protection of the civil arm. This they found in the orthodox Carolingian princes. On Charles's second visit to Italy, a woman reigned in Constantinople, and this afforded a favourable pretext for the act which was to inaugurate a new era. The scene was prepared with great ceremony. Charles knelt at the high altar, clothed in his dress of office, that of the Roman Patrician; the Pope placed on his head a crown of gold, and the Pope and clergy exclaimed, according to the formula in use for the Roman Emperors, "*Karolo Augusto, a Deo coronato, magno et pacifico imperatori, vita et victoria.*"

It is unnecessary to enter into questions whether Charles was passive in these transactions, and what was the precise legal or ecclesiastical effect of the change. One can hardly entertain a doubt that the whole scene was arranged between Charles and the Pope, during the visit which the latter paid to him at Paderborn in the previous year. What is important to point out is the character of the authority which was claimed, in the assumption of the new title. Theodoric, Clovis, Pepin, and Charles himself had accepted titles from the rulers of Constantinople, which placed them on a level with the Greek subjects, showing that the new rulers in the west had recognized some superiority in the title of Emperor over that of King. But the empire which was now revived was, in theory, not that of old Rome, but the transfer of the

3 idus Juuii." There is no evidence of any formal assumption of the dignity by any of these sovereigns. The same author appends to his article on the use of the title in the middle ages a remark indicative of the loose manner in which it was employed: "*Ceterum, haud satis sibi constitere scriptores in hujuscæ tituli distributioe, ut quid inde uti iudubitatum hauriri liceat. Modo enim qui Imperator est dictus, is paulo post ab eodem Rex est appellatus; et vicissim; quod etiam accidit in Imperatricis titulis.*"

centre of authority from Constantinople to the court of Charles. It did not enter into men's minds, at that time, to conceive that there could be two Emperors; and the title, Emperor of the West, which even Gibbon employs, does not represent the significance of this act. The chancery of Charles is said to have adopted the titles and forms of the Byzantine court, and the dignitaries of his court were obliged to approach him with a submission that was unknown to the Franks.

The rulers of Constantinople were too weak to take umbrage at the act of Charles, whose power was now rapidly extending over the shores of the Mediterranean, and who is said to have formed designs of further conquest in that direction. Embassies were sent to his Court by successive Emperors, so frequent were the changes. Eginhard, in his life of Charles, gives an account of the arrival of ambassadors of Michael Rhangabé at Aix, and their recognition of the imperial title. "Nam Aquisgrani, ubi ad imperatorem venerunt, scriptum pacti ab eo in ecclesia suscipientes, more suo, id est, Græca lingua, laudes ei dixerunt, imperatorem eum et basileum appellantes." The use of the latter appellation was a more important concession than that of Emperor (see *antè*, p. 327), and it is not surprising to find, from another passage in Eginhard, that the act of the ambassadors gave offence to Michael and his successors. Eginhard adds that the magnanimity of Charles prevailed over the haughtiness of the Roman Emperors. The negotiations, however, dragged on, and they were not concluded until after the death of Charles. They are fully detailed in the "Histoire des anciens traitez" (Supp. au Corp. Dipl. vol. i.). The concluding act was a treaty, nominally between Leo and Charles, but really with Louis. The difficulty in regard to titles was solved, as it has been in other cases, by addressing each other as brothers. "Cum quo (Leone) Carolus pacem perpetuam hoc modo composuit ut alter alterius semper fratrem nominetur, et alter ab altero semper juvetur. Græcus autem imperator orientis, Carolus vero sui que successores habeant Romam cum toto occidente." The quotation is from Godefroi de Viterbe.

In crowning Charlemagne the Popes accepted a master who claimed the right of interfering with the election of the Popes, until the papacy threw off the yoke under Hildebrand and his successors. Even Hildebrand himself did not assume the title of Pope until the election had received the approbation of Henry IV. The corruption of the times justified this interference, and it was not until the Church had, in some measure, purged itself of the gross scandals which disgraced Christianity, that she commanded the influence which enabled her to place her feet on the necks of kings. It was as advocate of the Church, a title, in the first instance, bestowed by the Popes, that this right was asserted and freely used. The Church was in as complete subordination to the civil government as in the Eastern Empire. Charles, as head of the Christian states, summoned councils, settled questions of Church discipline, and decided controversies. Professor Bryce,¹ in his review of the state of the empire under Charlemagne, quotes from a capitulary, issued at a great assembly held at Aachen, in which all persons are summoned to swear afresh to Charles, as Cæsar, and it is especially explained in this document that the act involved new and sacred obligations, not merely to the Emperor, but to the service of God, the Holy Church, and to widows, orphans, or strangers, "seeing that the said Emperor has been appointed, after the Lord and his saints, the protector and defender of all such." But the ecclesiastical character of the new sovereign is sufficiently indicated in his public officers of State. High functionaries, entitled *Missi Dominici*,² were charged with the inspection of provinces, and held

¹ "The Holy Roman Empire," a work to which I am indebted in tracing the history of the empire during the middle ages.

² The extent of their powers are very fully illustrated by Ducange, (*Glossarium*, under the title *Missi*), in extracts from the Capitulations of Charlemagne, and from mediæval chronicles. The inquisitorial power was exercised over all orders of society, and extended to conduct and morals. "Inquirebant qualiter Episcopi, Abbates, Comites, et Abbatissæ per singulos pagos agerent; qualem concordiam et amicitiam ad invicem tenerent, et ut bonos et idoneos Vicedomnos et advocatos haberent, et undecumque necesse fecisset tam regias quam ecclesiarum Dei justitias, viduarum quoque et orphanorum, sed et cæterorum hominum inquirerent et perficerent," etc.

"De monasteriis etiam et ecclesiis inquirebant, ac potissimum de conversatione virorum et puellarum etc."

assizes for the administration of justice, and inquired into the discharge of public duties by Bishops equally as by Counts.

When the imperial power was revived under Otho, a great change had passed through the society of Europe, owing to the growth of a feudal system. The tendency was to disintegration; and this was nowhere shown more distinctly than in Germany—henceforth the centre of the Imperial system. Under powerful princes like Otho or Frederick Barbarossa, the empire was extended. Burgundy, Poland, etc., became fiefs of the empire; but in weaker hands the Imperial power existed only in name. Feudal princes became independent, cities and independent communities sprang up in Italy and Germany, while the dependent royalties fell away. It is surprising that the empire survived the shocks it received in its struggles with the Papacy, or during the anarchy of the great interregnum. From this it was saved by something of national feeling among the Germans, and from a sense of common danger, which led to the rally round the imperial throne.

During the second or feudal period the empire acquired the character and consistency of a great federal commonwealth. The crown was elective. This principle is traced to the practice of the ancient Germans, whose chiefs were chosen by the popular voice. When it was revived by the German States, it became vested in the chiefs, though the voice of the people was required to complete the ceremony. The power of the greatest magnates must have always preponderated over the mixed multitude of smaller princes, and the act of Charles IV., by which it became fixed in the hands of seven princes, probably only ratified that which was already the practice in these elections. The power of the crown was limited. No great act of war or peace could be executed without the consent of the constituent members of the Diet, viz. the College of Electors, the College of Princes, and the free and imperial cities. The three bodies sat separately, and the consent of each was required.

Such was the theory; but the vast and cumbrous machine obeyed the impulse given to it by the feudal system, and any

powerful sovereign, who could appeal to the warlike spirit of the age, was sure of a following in wars, which wasted the resources and occasionally broke the power of the empire. The Emperor naturally took the lead in the crusades. He was appealed to as the leading Prince in Christendom; he presided over great Ecclesiastical Councils; but Italy was the great field of his warlike enterprises, and the history of the three centuries which elapsed from the revival of the Imperial dignity under Otho the Great to the coronation of Charles IV. is that of a struggle, of which Italy was the centre. Gibbon says that from the memorable era when Otho, at the head of a victorious army, passed the Alps, two memorable principles of public jurisprudence were introduced by force and ratified by time. 1. That the Prince, who was elected in the German Diet, acquired from that instant the subject kingdoms of Italy and Rome. 2. That he might not legally assume the titles of Emperor and Augustus till he had received the crown from the hands of the Roman Pontiff. This is nothing more than saying that the power of the Emperors rested on the sword. They organized no system of government. They exercised no authority, except in countries occupied by their armies. In the confusion of these times, cities and republics rose to provide for order and government. But the Emperors held sufficient authority to prevent the rise of any powerful state. Hence arose the struggle of factions, which forms the most painful chapter of Italian history, and which rendered her for 800 years the prey of the stranger. Hence also the struggle with the Popes for power and supremacy, under which the Emperors occasionally succumbed. All this belongs to Italian history, and I only refer to it because through the connexion of the empire with Italy it was moulded into the form under which it is best known in modern history.

Towards the close of this period, says Gibbon, Germany was a monster with a hundred heads, and he adds, justly, that this anarchy was the inevitable consequence of the laws and manners of Europe. But the nations which were shattered by the feudal system were reunited under powerful

princes; and, with the growth of a system of standing armies, France and Spain became united and powerful states. In Germany, however, all the attributes of regal jurisdiction were held by the princes of the empire, and the German Emperor (again to borrow the words of Gibbon) was "no more than the elective and impotent magistrate of an aristocracy of princes, who had not left him a village he might call his own."

Throughout these successive changes the heads of this great empire claimed the inheritance of the Cæsars, and it was held, in theory, that the rule was a continuation of that of Imperial Rome. The titles of Emperor and Augustus were borne on their coins, and in public documents, and when the system was introduced of electing a successor during the lifetime of the reigning sovereign, the heir so chosen became King of the Romans.

The third period, into which I have divided the history of the German Empire, dates from the close of the fifteenth century, when feudalism was declining, and the monarchial system was in the ascendant. The connexion of the empire with Italy, which had been long on the decline, gradually ceased, and the Holy Roman Empire was confined, in theory as well as in fact, to the states which composed this mixed body, and which were chiefly German, though they also comprised some Slavonic communities.

This period is also connected with the rise of the House of Austria, a family which was marked by few members of striking ability or enterprise, but who, by a series of fortunate marriages,¹ acquired a preponderance in Germany and in Europe. It reached its highest culmination under Charles V., but was shaken by the wars which followed the Reformation, and destroyed the unity of the empire. From this time the wars in which the German or Imperial Princes were engaged were those of dynasties or rival powers, resting more on personal than on public grounds. Germany, divided by religion and wasted by the rivalry of

¹ *Bella gerant alii, tu, felix Austria, nube.
Nam quæ Mars aliis dat tibi regna Venus.*

its princes, was an incoherent mass, without any traces of national union, and the ancient empire disappeared amid the convulsions of the French Revolution.

It is deserving of notice that the outward forms retained something of the ancient Roman or rather Byzantine models. The electors were great officers of the Imperial household. The King of Bohemia was the Great Cup-bearer, the Count Palatine of the Rhine was the Steward, the Margrave of Brandenburg the Great Chamberlain, the Duke of Saxony the Great Marshal, the three Archbishops of Mentz, Cologne, and Treves bore the seals of the triple kingdom as Archchancellors of Germany, Italy and Arles.

These several functions were discharged on great occasions, even under Charles IV., when his power was at its lowest ebb. I subjoin the lines of Schiller, describing the coronation feast of Rudolph of Hapsburgh, as quoted by Professor Bryce, p. 231.¹

The Dukes and Counts inherited the names and functions of provincial governors in the late Roman period. German writers have been unwilling to allow the Roman origin of these titles, and have attempted to trace them to German sources; but the matter has been placed beyond question by the learning and research of Selden.²

¹ " Zu Aachen in seiner Kaiserpracht
In alterthümlichen Saale,
Sass König Rudolphs heilige Maecht
Bejm festlicheu Krönungsmahle.
Die Speisen trug der Pfalzgraf des Rheins,
Es scheukte der Böhme des perlenden Weins,
Und alle die Wahler, die sieben,
Wie der Sterne Char um die Sonne sich stellt,
Umstanden geschäftig den Herrscher des Welt
Die Würde des Amtes zu üben."

² The Count or Comes, in its origin, was an officer of state under the Empire. The Emperors had select attendants of consular or prætorian rank, entitled Comites or Amiei. They were of different grades, and constituted a sort of privy council. The whole body was entitled Romanum Collegium. Individuals were designated Comes primi ordinis, etc. Special offices were subsequently attached to the rank, as Comes or Magister, (for the word is used indifferently), sacrarum largitionum, Comes rerum privatarum, Comes equitum, etc., and lastly the name was connected with territorial jurisdiction. The Comes exercised his special office in a particular province, or became Count of the province, as Comes Egypti, Comes Isauriæ. Comes is also used as the equivalent for Archou, a title that fell into disuse, but was sometimes used in Anglo-Saxon times. Instances are given of the title appearing in the Acts of Ecclesiastical Councils, but its significance, as a terri-

With regard to the styles in use in these successive periods, those of Charlemagne run variously. The specimen which is given by Ducange (*Glossarium*, under the title *Imperator*) is the fullest, and runs as follows: "Carolus serenissimus Augustus, a Deo coronatus, magnus et pacificus imperator, Romanorum gubernans imperium, qui et per misericordiam Dei rex Francorum et Langobardorum." Several of the forms used are given by Selden; one of them, forming the heading of a charter of foundation to the Bishopric of Osnaburgh, corresponds nearly with the above. In another the title of *Cæsar* is introduced: "Imperator *Cæsar* Carolus, Rex Francorum invictissimus, et Romani rector imperii." On one of his coins he is simply "Carolus Magnus Roman. Imp. et Franco. Rex." Another, struck at Rome, marks his alliance with the Papacy. The obverse gives a rude figure of the Emperor, with the legend, "Carolo R. Leo PP.," the reverse, "S. C. S. Petrus." The inscription on a leaden seal, preserved at Paris, is given by Professor Bryce, expressive of the renewal of the empire. The legend runs: D.N. KAR. IMP. P.P. AVG. RENOVATIO ROMAN. IMP. ROMA appears at the foot.

Like the Roman Emperors, Charles associated his son with him in the government during his lifetime. This took place in his advanced age, and with a view to secure the transmission of the Imperial crown. At a great Diet at Aix the ceremonial was arranged, and after receiving from his father injunctions as to the proper discharge of his great duties, Lewis was directed to take the crown that was prepared and place it on his own head, thus denoting his independence of the Papal sanction; a precedent that may have influenced Napoleon when he renewed the empire of Charlemagne.

Lewis seems to have felt uneasy at this act of defiance, for when Pope Stephen came to Rheims to take a part in the

torial title, is traced by Selden to its being associated with that of *Dux*, a common designation for the lieutenants of provinces or frontiers, as, for instance, *Dux et Comes rei militaris Isauriæ*. The title, thus associated with high dignity in the Eastern Empire, rapidly extended in the West, and accumulated instances are given by Selden of letters patent creating the dignity, under Theodoric King of Italy. Counts were also created by Gothic Kings.

ceremony of his consecration, Lewis showed his reverence by prostrating himself thrice, and refusing to rise until the Pope took him by the hand. The whole scene shocked the councillors of his great father, and was a presage of what followed.

The empire underwent successive divisions in the civil wars which followed. The titles of Emperor and Augustus became the subject of treaties, and were assigned successively to his son and grandson. On the first of these occasions, that of the treaty of Verdun in 843, the empire was in reality abolished. France and Germany henceforth became separate kingdoms. The Imperial title, however, survived, and was the subject of a similar engagement on the partition which followed the death of Lothair in 853, but we almost lose sight of it in the confused times which follow.

Otho and his successors were content with the simple title of Emperor in their public acts. They held great hereditary possessions, but these were overshadowed by the imperial dignity, the seal of Otho containing the simple inscription, OTTO IMP AVG. The act by which he confirms the donations of Pepin and Charlemagne commences with equal brevity : "Ego Otto Dei Gratiâ Imperator Augustus, una cum Ottone glorioso rege nostro, divina ordinante potestate, spondemus et promittimus."¹ A confirmation of the same act by Henry II. runs in almost identical words, and I find the same simplicity of diction in imperial acts relating to Germany, and in the imperial constitutions. In one of these edicts, appended to the *Corpus juris civilis*, the name of the Emperor, Lothaire III., is followed by a string of epithets after the old Roman fashion, such as *pius, felix, inclytus, ac triumphator* ; but this is exceptional.

As feudal principles grew strong, and the personal authority of the Emperor declined, a pompous style prevailed, and the full territorial titles of the reigning princes were set forth. Thus the edict of Sigismund for the security of the Council of Constance commences : "Sigismundus, Dei Gratiâ, Roma-

¹ Supplement au Corps Diplomatique, vol. ii. p. 23, where reference is made to Baronii *Annales Ecclesiastici*, Tom. x.

norum Rex, semper Augustus, ac Ungariæ, Dalmatiæ, Croatiæ Rex, universis ac singulis presentes literas inspecturis notum facimus.”¹ A more complete array of titles will be found in the treaty of alliance between the same sovereign and Henry V. of England, concluded at Canterbury in 1425. It commences: “Sigismundus, Dei Gratiâ, Romanorum Rex, semper Augustus, ac Hungariæ, Dalmatiæ, Croaciæ, Ramæ, Serviæ, Gallicia, Lodomeriæ, Conrania, Bulgariæque Rex, ac Marchio Brandenburgensis, nec non Bohemiæ ac Lucemburgensis hæres, ad perpetuam rei memoriam.”²

The change which the imperial style underwent was due, in a great measure, to feudal ideas of lordship of the soil, and we find the same process going on in royal and other governments. The Kings of the Franks and of the Angles introduced new styles expressive of their territorial claims. Even the Dukes and Counts whose titles belonged to the imperial system of Byzantium claimed the same relationship with the people. The seals of the Norman conquerors describe them as Kings of the Angles.

Those of the Plantagenets run in the same style, with the addition “Dux Normannorum et Aquitanorum.” The territorial title is occasionally employed, and in the time of Edward III. we find it fully established. I give a specimen of one of his coins bearing the inscription—

EDWARDVS DEI GRATIA REX ANGLIE DN AGITANIE.
GLorIA IN EXCELSIS ET IN TeRrA PAX HOMiNIBVS.

That of the Black Prince is in a similar style. It was struck at Bordeaux.

EDwardus PrimO GeNituS REGIS ANGLIE PriNcePS AGITANIE. XPC
VINCIT XPC REGNAT XPC IMPERAT.

This introduction of Christian symbols is frequently found on French coins of this period.

In Scotland, on the other hand, the old style of Rex

¹ Corps Diplomatique, vol. ii. p. 363.

² Rymer's *Fœdera*, vol. iv. part ii. p. 171. It will be observed that in these transactions Sigismund is only described as King of the Romans, and the same designation is also applied to him by Henry in the letter appointing persons to conduct him on his arrival. He is merely entitled King of the Romans and of Hungary. Sigismund was not crowned at Rome until 1433.

Scotorum continued in use, and was so employed by the Stuarts, until the union of the Crowns. The unfortunate Mary was known as the Queen of Scots, while her rival and adversary was Queen of England, France, and Ireland. When she issued coinage in the names of herself and first husband, they were described as King and Queen of the Franks as well as of Scots. Her son also remained King of the Scots after her death.

The earliest instance which I find of the addition of these territorial titles to the simple imperial style occurs in the case of Alphonso of Castile, the rival of Richard of Cornwall, an episode of the great interregnum. During their brief struggle, each exercised imperial functions, and letters of investiture were drawn up in 1258, in favour of the Duke of Lorraine, which commenced as follows: "In eterni Dei nomine, amen. Pateat universis presentem paginam inspecturis quod nos Alfonsus, Dei gratia Romanorum Rex, semper Augustus, et Castellie, Toleti, Legionis, Gallicie, Sibilie, Cordubae, Murcie, Giennii et Algarbii Rex, ad instantiam, etc."¹

Under the Emperors of the family of Austria the practice arose of introducing in their style, not kingly titles only, but every dignity attached to each separate principality, whether inherited or acquired. Maximilian added Germany to the list of his kingdoms, and this style was constantly used by his successors. Charles V., in his act of surrender of the Imperial crown to his brother Ferdinand, styles himself simply Emperor of the Romans; but his treaties and public acts run in the pompous style which came into fashion. That between him and Francis I. in 1521 may be taken as a specimen: "Carolus, divina favente clementia, Electus Romanorum Imperator, Semper Augustus, Germanie, Hispaniarum, utriusque Sicilie, Jerusalem, et Indiarum ac terrae firmæ maris oceani, Archidux Austrie, Dux Burgundie, Brabantie, Virtembergie, etc. Comes Flandrie, Tiroli, Palatinus Burgundie, Princeps Suevie et Landgravie Alsacie,

¹ Supplement au Corps Diplomatique, vol. ii. p. 185. The document is said to be taken from the register of the time of Duke Ferry, preserved in the archives of Nancy.

etc. Marchio Burgoviæ, Dominus in Asia et Africa, universis presentes literas inspecturis salutem.”¹

I must spare the reader the recital of the dignities of his descendant, Leopold. In his cession of the crown of Spain to the Arch-Duke Charles Leopold in 1703, there are enumerated, in addition to the Imperial dignity, six kingdoms, one arch-duchy, ten dukedoms, four principalities, five counties; and he is, in addition, Landgrave of Alsace, and Lord (dominus) of the Slavonic March.² Throughout all changes the style is preserved of *Elect* King or Emperor of the Romans, while everything else refers to territory. The Empire, or rather, as it came to be styled after the time of Barbarossa, the “Holy” Roman Empire, retained something of its ancient prestige when the authority which belonged to the Imperial system had passed away. Propped as it was by the territorial possessions of the House of Austria, it maintained an outward semblance of grandeur, and sank when the power on which it leaned was shattered by the arms of the new Cæsar.³

That the House of Austria should have so long maintained its position as the head of the Empire has afforded matter for the comments of historians. The following nine reasons are quoted by Professor Bryce from the work of a German writer early in the eighteenth century, in explanation of this great fact :

1. The great power of Austria.
2. Her wealth, now that the Empire was so poor.
3. The majority of Catholics among the Electors.
4. Her fortunate matrimonial alliances.
5. Her moderation.
6. The memory of benefits conferred by her.
7. The example of evils that have followed a departure from the blood of the former Cæsars.

¹ Corps Diplomatique, vol. iv. p. 352.

² Corps Diplomatique, vol. viii. p. 133.

³ The well-known lines of Lucan, descriptive of the tottering condition of the Pompeian party, and frequently applied to institutions that have survived their vigour, are apposite,—

“Qualis frugifero quercus sublimis in agro,
Exuvias veteres populi sacretaque gestans
Doua ducum, nec jam validis radicibus hærens,
Pondere fixa suo est”

8. The fear of the confusion that would ensue if she were deprived of the crown.

9. Her own eagerness to have it.

It remains to add a few remarks on the assumption of imperial titles by sovereigns beyond the sphere of Carolingian conquests and in modern times. The success of Charles in founding a new empire led to several attempts to bring the title into use. It was largely employed by the Saxon sovereigns of England in the tenth and eleventh centuries, and also by some Spanish kings somewhat later. But it may be observed, with regard to these assumptions, that the title merely denoted a superiority over kings and kingdoms within certain specified bounds, and had no relation to the empire of either Rome or Constantinople. The title was used very much according to popular usage in the present day. When England became united under one sovereign, the title of Emperor or Basileus came into frequent use. Something analogous had, indeed, existed in the time of the Heptarchy. The title of Bretwalda, variously rendered "wielder of the strength of Britain," or "the widely ruling chief," was given to several princes wielding extensive power. Sharon Turner calls them war kings. In those early times the boundaries and extent of the dominions of the invading chiefs constantly varied. Kemble, in his "Saxons in England," gives reasons for supposing that the kings were more numerous than are comprised under the terms Heptarchy or Octarchy. The power of some of these chiefs extended over a considerable part of England. Bede mentions seven that ruled over all England south of the Humber. Egbert, the contemporary of Charlemagne, conquered the whole of England, and the Saxon Chronicle says expressly of him that he was the eighth king who was called Bretwalda. Athelstan, in a charter, styles himself *Brutenwealde* of all this island; the title is rendered in Latin, "*Rex et rector totius hujus Britanniae insulae.*" But soon after this the styles and phrases borrowed from the imperial chancery came into frequent use.

That of Basileus had, indeed, been employed so far back as the seventh century. In the middle of the tenth century

it was frequently employed, either singly, or combined with Emperor. Thus Athelstan in 930 styles himself "Basileus Anglorum simul ac imperator regum et nationum infra fines Britanniae commorantium." This ostentatious display of titles arrived at its full height in the time of Edgar, in the middle of the tenth century. This vain prince is said to have sailed with a great fleet to Chester on the Dee, and to have there received the homage of eight kings, Kenneth of Scotland, Malcolm of Cumbria, Macchus of Anglesea and the Isles, three kings of Wales, and two others who are not named.¹ Edgar ascended a large vessel, and stationed himself at the helm, while the kings took the places of the watermen, and rowed him down the river. The style employed by him is consistent with this episode in his history. In one of his charters he appears as "Anglorum Basileus, omniumque insularum oceani quae Britanniam circumjacent, cunctarumque nationum quae infra eam includuntur, imperator et dominus."

These titles seem to have been employed very capriciously. In three charters by Edgar, in the year 967, given successively in Kemble's *Codex Diplomaticus Ævi Saxonici*, the King's style runs: "(1) Ego, Eadgar totius Anglorum gentis primicerius; (2) Anglorum telluris gubernator et rector; (3) totius Albionis Basileus." The variety and combination which appear in the specimens collected by Mr. W. de Gray Birch are endless. Besides Emperor and Basileus, we have Dominus, Rector, Monarcha and Monarchus, Coregulus and Curagulus, and Subregulus; also Primicherius and Archon; and these strung together with epithets and phrases according to the taste of the scribes, such as gratulabundus, industrius, imperiosus, sublimatus, and subthronizatus. This heaping up of titles of diverse origin is a peculiarity of Oriental phraseology, which I shall have occasion to point out later on in this story.

The same style prevailed during the Danish rule, and was again employed by Edward the Confessor; but it was dropped

¹ Sharon Turner's *Anglo-Saxons*, vol. ii. p. 267. In a note it is said that the chief called Macchus subscribed himself *Archipirata!* The authority for this is Malmesbury, who says that he had seen this signature on one of Edgar's charters with this peculiar epithet attached.

by the Norman Kings, who contented themselves with the simple title of Kings of the Angles, with the addition of territorial claims, such as that of Lord of Ireland and Duke of Aquitain. While avoiding the title Emperor, the term Imperium remained in use, as applied to kingly rule, and no sovereigns in Europe asserted more strenuously their independence. The extravagant claims to universal domination which were put forward by the imperial civilians called forth a spirit of resistance. Thus William Rufus is said by Matthew of Paris to have told Anselm that he had all the liberties in his kingdom which the Emperor had in his empire, and in a charter by the same King to the Monastery of Shaftesbury, he uses the expression, "Ego Wilhelmus, rex Anglorum, anno ab incarnatione Domini 1089, Secundo anno mei *imperii*, omnibus meus successoribus designo."¹ Richard I., during his captivity, is said to have made some concessions to the Emperor, "sicut universorum Domino," which made it the more necessary for his successors to assert their independence; and when the Emperor Sigismund came to England to mediate a peace between France and England, the Duke of Gloucester rode to meet him with his sword drawn, and compelled him to acknowledge that he did not invade the prerogatives of the English Crown (*velut se contra superioritatem regis prætexere*). The assertion of the Imperial rule of the British crown by Henry VIII. is directed not against the authority of Rome only. This famous statute² begins: "Whereas by divers and sundry old authentick histories and chronicles, it is manifestly declared and expressed that this realm of England is an Empire, and so hath been accepted in the world, governed by one supreme head and King, having the dignity and royal state of the *Imperial* Crown of the same," and in the following section it is said that the statutes of the King's progenitors were framed for the preservation of its prerogatives "from the arrogance, as well of the See of Rome, as from the authority of other foreign potentates." It may be added that the first Parliament of the same reign went a step further, giving to the English Kings the style of

¹ Selden, Titles of Honour.

² 24 Hen. VIII. c. 12.

Kings and Emperors of the realm of England and of the land of Ireland.

The assumption of the Imperial title by some of the Spanish Kings was more precise and significant than that of the Saxon Kings of England, and forms an important chapter in Spanish history in the middle ages. Mariana says that several kings of Spain bore the title. I need only refer to the most important occasions. Ferdinand of Castile assumed it after his victories over the Moors in the eleventh century. Henry II. of Germany took umbrage, and complained to the Pope of the act, which withdrew the Crown of Castile from its dependence on the Empire, and was injurious to the authority of the Pope. The question was taken up by Hildebrand at the Council of Tours, where these matters were debated, and an embassy was sent to Castile forbidding the use of the title, under pain of excommunication. In the events which followed, the famous Cid is said to have taken a part, and led the Spanish forces to Toulouse, where an arrangement was come to decisive of the freedom and independence of the Crown of Castile.

The subsequent occasion on which the title was assumed is regarded by Mariana as of more significance, and the sovereign who took it is generally known in history by that designation. Alphonso, King of Castile, had claims, both on Arragon and Navarre, and being prepared to assert them by force, an arrangement was made between the latter prince and Alphonso, by which the King of Navarre acknowledged the Imperial rule of the latter. An assembly of the states of the Kingdom was held at Leon, and it was decided that Alphonso should assume all the marks of Imperial dignity. The title Augustus was added because he had as feudatories Kings of Arragon, Navarre, the countries of Barcelona and Catalonia, including that part of France which formerly belonged to Gothic Gaul. The coronation took place at Leon at the hands of the Archbishop of Toledo, and afterwards at Toledo itself; since which event the arms of this Imperial city have represented the act of coronation. Contemporary writers say that this

act had the approval of the Pope Innocent II. Mariana doubts whether any Pope would have offered such an affront to the German Emperor. The circumstances connected with the assumption of the title are, however, beyond all question, and Mariana shows that the style was employed at the time in letters addressed to the Pope, and speaking of the new Emperor as one of the most powerful princes in Christendom, and as entertaining a filial affection for His Holiness. Alphonso conferred the royal title on his two sons, and retained the Imperial dignity till his death, when his dominions were parcelled out among his sons.¹ The inscription on his coins runs simply, Alphonso VII. Hisp. Imp.²

I find no trace of any new assumption of the imperial title from this date till it became connected with the style of the sovereigns of Russia. It has long been a question whether the title *Tzar* or *Czar* was derived from the Roman *Cæsar*. When Vassili or Basilius first assumed the title of Emperor, pains were taken to justify this on the supposition that this old title came down from the old empire. Olearius, who visited Russia in 1636, in the suite of the embassy of the Duke of Holstein, alludes to this claim in the following passage:—"Depuis que les Muscovites ont sçû qu'on appelle Kayser celui qui tient le premier rang entre les princes Chretiens de l'Europe, et que ce mot descend du nom propre de celui qui le premier changea l'état populaire de Rome en monarchie, ils ont voulu faire accroire que leur mot de *Czar* a la même signification et la même etymologie. C'est pourquoi ils veulent aussi imiter les Empereurs d'Allemagne dans leurs grand sceau, où l'on voit un aigle à deux têtes, mais avec des ailes moins deployées que celles de l'aigle de l'Empereur, ayant, sur l'estomac dans in ecusson, un cavalier qui combat un dragon."

¹ Mariana, Liv. xi.

² Ducange, under the article *Imperator*, gives many illustrations of the use of the title in Spain from the charters of the princes of Castile. In the following extract, which is taken from Zurita in *Analibus Aragon*, it is employed in the sense of feudal superiority. "En el año de 1135 el rey Don Alonzo, estando en la Ciudad de Leon, tomó la corona e insignias del Imperio Como Imperador y monarca de todo España, pretendiendo que los Reynos y Señorios della o eran suyos, o le devian renococer come a Señor Soverano."

This writer takes pains to refute this notion. His argument rests mainly on the fact that the word is of old use in the Russian language, as the equivalent of king, and that it is so used in the translation of the Bible in the old Slavonic language.¹ Karamsin also referring, in his history, to the vulgar error of his countrymen, dwells on the same fact, and his authority should be decisive of the question.

The usual style of Vassili's predecessors had been *Welikoi Knez*, which is variously rendered Grand Duke or Great Prince. Olearius says that the reigning prince was addressed by this title at the time of his visit. Czar, however, had been in use before, and Karamsin informs us that it had been borne by several sovereigns, and among others by Jaroslaf II. and by Demitri Donskoi. The question attracted the attention of the learned early in the last century, when Peter made great efforts to obtain a formal recognition of the title by the great powers of Europe. Much stress was laid by Peter on the fact that the title had been recognized by Maximilian in a formal document. The history of this transaction, as related by Karamsin, is curious. The treaty, which was political as well as commercial, was prepared in Russ, and translated into German at Moscow, when the title Kaiser was substituted for that of Czar. The treaty was ratified by Maximilian himself by oath, and in the presence of the Russian envoys. Karamsin adds, that the original having been lost, Peter caused the German version to be published with a translation both in French and Russ. Many years afterwards Joseph II., on his visit to Moscow, desired to see the document to which so much importance was attached, and noted, with some interest, the terms in which Maximilian's ratification was inserted, adding, with a smile to the guardians of the archives, "Show that to the King of France;" for the Court of Versailles had long refused its recognition of the imperial titles of Russia.²

¹ Cyril, Apostle of the Slaves in the tenth century, was the author of this translation. He introduced letters which bear his name, and worked among the Chazares, then Muhammadans, and settled on the Danube.

² Karamsin, vol. vii. p. 66, and the note on this passage at the end of the volume.

It is clear from Karamsin's statement that Czar was never connected with Imperial dignity until the sixteenth century, and that it had been previously applied, not merely to the rulers of Russia, but to the chiefs of neighbouring powers, in the sense of King or Prince. Vassili succeeded in procuring a partial recognition of the title Emperor; hence the Russian ruler is thus addressed in letters to him in favour of Russian merchants by Philip and Mary, and by Elizabeth, as will be found in Hakluyt. This form of address was, however, steadily refused by "the Great Turk," and "the Polonian," because, as Selden informs us, on the authority of a contemporary writer, "neither of those princes would endure any new title on each other's letters." Selden adds that his successors styled themselves variously "Imperator totius Russiæ," or "Magnus Dominus, Czar atque magnus Dux totius Russiæ," etc., or "Dei Gratiâ, Imperator et magnus Dux totius Russiæ atque Romanorum Tartariæ regnorum," etc., clearly showing that the new style was not well established.

With regard to the origin of the title, the question is left in some obscurity. While the best authorities are agreed as to its non-imperial origin, there seems to be a doubt whether it is a Slavonic word, and Karamsin traces it back to the time of Nebuchadnezzar. He observes, "*Ce mot, (Tzar) n'est pas l'abregé du Latin Cæsar, comme plusieurs savants le croient, sans fondement. C'est un ancien nom Oriental, que nos connûmes par la traduction Slavonne de la Bible, donné, d'abord par nous aux Empereurs d'Orient, et en suite aux Khans des Tatars. Il signifie, en Persan, trone, autorité suprême, et se fait remarquer dans le terminaison des noms des rois d'Assyrie et de Babylone comme dans Phalassar et Nabonassar.*" I must here leave the question. To make good this ancient descent, it would be necessary to find some link that connected together these remote epochs. I have met with no trace of its use in Eastern titles.

I must bring to a close this review of the history of Imperial titles in Europe with a brief reference to recent assumptions. The policy of Napoleon in adopting this title is intelligible. In reviving monarchy in France the child of

the Revolution necessarily separated himself from the royalty of the Bourbons. The Empire admitted of an alliance with the forms of a Republic, and especially a military Republic. It offered something of novelty and greatness, and was associated with the ancient military renown of the Franks. When, therefore, he swore to maintain the territories of the Republic, everything was arranged to denote a revival of the Empire of Charlemagne. The Envoys of the Court of Vienna, which had shown some hesitation in its recognition of the new empire, were received at Aix-la-Chapelle with great splendour. The tomb of Charles was visited, and donations distributed among the clergy, in the vain hope of propitiating their interest. The throne was surrounded with an array of dignitaries, in imitation of ancient precedents, and the titles of the new Marshals were arranged to mark the extended sway of the new conqueror. In his style he was simply "Empereur des Français," and when to this was added the kingdom of Italy, the inscription on his coins runs, "Empereur et Roi," or "Napoleon le Grand, Empereur et Roi." On his visit to Italy in 1805, coins were struck in imitation of the old Roman style. "Imp. Napoleon P. F. A. Rex It. The Emperor Napoleon, Pius, Felix, Augustus, King of Italy."

In the mean time the old German Empire passed away. By a public act Francis II. made a formal resignation of the Imperial dignity, releasing the States of Germany from their allegiance, and withdrew within his hereditary dominions as Emperor of Austria. New empires began to rise in the far West. When the French were driven from St. Domingo, Dessalines, the chief of the new Negro Government, established in 1804, received the title of Emperor, as if in mockery of the new Government of France. But as Empire had been associated with revolution, and the changes in the French dominion in the far West were effected by the sword, it is not surprising to find another empire rise in Mexico.

Augustin Iturbide, a young man without rank or wealth, rose to power in the struggles between the royalist and constitutional parties in that country in 1822, and was saluted

by his soldiers with the title of Emperor, after the old Roman fashion. He had commenced his career as a supporter of the Spanish party, and sought, probably with sincerity, to secure the independence of Mexico under a Spanish Prince. When, however, he had established his authority over the whole country, he assumed the government under this ancient title, and with a view of reconciling the constitutional party to the new rule, he introduced the novel title of Constitutional Emperor. The inscription on his coins runs: "August. Dei. Prov. Mex. I. Imperator Constitut."

The empire was of short duration, but it is curious to note that the same year marked the rise of another constitutional Empire in Brazil. Iturbide assumed the government in May, 1822, and in October of the same year, when Brazil was declared an independent State, Don Pedro, of Braganza, adopted the title of Emperor of the new government, and assumed a similar style. His coins bear the inscription: "Petrus D. G. const. Imp. et perp. Bras. Def."

I think it unnecessary to refer to more recent assumptions of the title either in France or Mexico. The frequency with which the title has been assumed in recent times, and by minor states, and the ephemeral character of the rule of some of the governments so formed, has served to discredit the title, as if it were assumed for tawdry show, and inconsistent with the simple dignity of a great sovereign.

In Germany a new Empire has arisen which aims to unite the Teutonic race in one great confederation. But the events, out of which this great power has arisen are too recent for comment, or for speculation on the probability of its duration.

EASTERN TITLES.

In examining the titles of Eastern sovereigns, we are, in the first place, struck by their variety; and, secondly, by the different significance which has attached to some of them at various epochs. The title King, and its equivalent in the languages of the North and South of Europe, has always been associated with supreme and independent power. Popes

and Emperors have claimed certain rights of superiority, and have made and unmade Kings, but this has not materially affected the course of history; and a kingdom or royalty denotes independence of internal administration, in spite of occasional exceptions, as much now as it did in early times, and the meaning directly connected with the name is not affected by the question whether the sovereignty be absolute, or tempered by constitutional checks.

In the East it is different. The titles are various, as *Malik*, *Sultan*, *Shah*, or *Khan*, differing in linguistic origin, and also in the importance attached to each at different times. Thus, the title *Sultan* was, so far as it can be traced, applied, originally, to subordinate governors only; but, when adopted by powerful sovereigns, acquired a dignity and popularity which led to its being assumed by princes small and great, till, in the end, it gradually dropped out of use and was superseded by new titles. So also *Malik*, long connected with sovereigns of the highest rank, has now ceased to be used, and may be fairly said to be obsolete. The title *Khan*, once borne by the greatest princes, has no longer the significance it once had.

These and other titles are frequently joined together in a way, at first sight, somewhat perplexing, the perplexity being increased when we find these royal designations used as proper names. Thus *Malik Shah*, the son of *Alp Arslan*, and *Miran Shah*, the son of *Timur*, bore names expressive of royalty; while the title usually applied to the head of the government was different, *Sultan* in the one case, and *Amir* in the other.¹ *Malik Shah*, on the death of his father, had the title of *Sultan* especially confirmed to him by the reigning *Khalif*, emblematic, as this was, both of honour and authority. But, at this period of history, the title of *Malik* also denoted rule, and was conferred by the family which ruled in *Egypt* on dependent princes.

The famous *Saládin* bore the title of *Sultan* as well as

¹ *Mir Miran* is the Persian corruption of *Amir il Omra*, and was applied to governors of provinces.

Malik. His full title,¹ as it appears on his coins, runs: "The Malik, the Defender (of the Faith), Joseph the son of Job, Sultan of Islam and of the Moslems, pure in the world and in religion." This combination of titles is not uncommon.

This fashion belongs to modern times. In the most ancient inscriptions of which we have records, sovereign princes, in recording their conquests and dominions, were content with simple designations, such as the great king, the king of kings, followed, however, by high-sounding epithets and phrases, expressive of their dignity and power. Such was the style of the ancient kings of Assyria and Persia, and these particular expressions are constantly used by the Greek and Parthian dynasties which rose to power on their ruins.

With the rise of the Muhammadan power a great change took place. The Khalifs were content with the simple title of Commander of the Faithful. But the new governments, that owned their supremacy or succeeded them, introduced new titles; and, as Asia was overrun, successively, by Arabs, Turks, and Moguls, titles which took their rise with these different races spread over the continent, and were frequently mixed together, as if it were the object of the prince to exalt his dignity by borrowing every designation that had ever been employed to represent royal authority. This practice arrived at the highest pitch of extravagance under the Turkish rulers of Constantinople, of which some examples are given further on. For the present I will take as example the inscription on the minaret near Ghazni, raised by direction of the great Mahmud, and that on his tomb, both of which are given in Mr. Thomas's Essay on the coins of the Kings of Ghazni.² The former runs as follows: "In the name of God the most

الملك الناصر يوسف بن ايوب سلطان الاسلام والمسلمين صالح¹
الدنيا والدين. I feel a difficulty in translating the word *Salih*, from its reference to the world as well as religion. In the dictionaries it is rendered rectitude, probity, or *status integer, bonus*. If the name were Salah-ed-din alone, it would bear the meaning which a friend has suggested to me of whole or sound as to religion.

² Journ. R.A.S. Vol. XVII. p. 161.

merciful. The high and mighty Sultan, Malik of Islam, the right arm of the State, trustee of the faith, the victory-crowned, the patron of Moslems, the aid of the destitute, the munificence-endowed, Mahmúd, (may God glorify his testimony), son of Sabaktagin, the champion of champions, the Amir of Moslems,¹ ordered the construction of this lofty of loftiest of monuments, and of a certainty it has been happily and prosperously completed." The inscription on the tomb of Mahmúd is more simple: "May there be forgiveness of God upon the great Amir, the Lord,² Nizam-ed-din³ Abúl Kasim Mahmúd, son of Sabaktagin. May God have mercy upon him!" We have here not merely the royal titles of Malik and Sultan, but those of inferior dignities, as Amir and Syud, and also those high-sounding religious titles which were conferred by the Khalifs, as the fountain of honour, on princes that acknowledged their authority. They were also very commonly assumed by persons of rank, and even by those of inferior authority, to mark their zeal for the faith.

M. Reinaud says, in his Introduction to the Geography of Abulfeda, that it was the custom of the day among Muhammadans for a child to receive a certain name on his circumcision, and to assume, when he grew up, another, expressive of his devotion to the faith. Thus the first name of Abulfeda was Ismael, while his first religious title was *Emad-ed-din*. When he became a prince, he bore successively the titles of *Malik Mowayed*, the well-supported prince, and *Malik Salih*, the excellent prince. Abulfeda, in his history, describes a visit he paid, in company with his uncle, to the reigning prince in Egypt, in which his uncle, who bore the title of *Al Mansúr*, the defended (of God), expressed a wish to give it up, in consequence of its having been assumed by the prince himself. This title was

¹ The expression in the original is *Amir ul Mumenin*, Commander of the Faithful, the title of the Khalifs.

² The Sayud.

³ This is not one of the titles conferred by the Khalif. They appear in the preceding translation. The original is *Yemin ud daulut Amir al Millat* (يمين الدولة وامير الملة). Vide Briggs's *Ferishta*, vol. i. p. 36.

popular with the sovereigns of the Mamluk dynasty here referred to, and was borne by the chief of Hamath, Abulfeda's uncle, whose title runs *il Malik al Mansur*. The scruple evinced on this occasion is intelligible, when we find how frequently Muhammadan sovereigns were known to their contemporaries and to history by their religious titles. A very large number of the Patan rulers in India are best known by these designations. Thus we have *Kutb ed-din*, pole of religion; *Shums ed-din*, sun of religion; *Jelal ed-din*, glory of religion, etc. They had also their proper names and titles of sovereignty. The extent to which this was carried is illustrated by Mr. Thomas, in his Essay on the Coins of the Kings of Ghazni,¹ where the seven sons of A'iz-ud-din Hasan figure with these especial titles. Of the four sons of Timur, three are designated by their zeal for the faith. *Gheith ed-din*, *Muez ed-din*, *Jelal ed-din*, signifying the aid, the stronghold, and the glory of religion. This will be more fully illustrated as I proceed with the various titles I have undertaken to review.

Notice will be taken of the very sparing use of territorial assumptions. In modern usage a sovereign prince is said to rule over a country rather than over a nation, though to this there are some exceptions. In ancient history we find the title variously connected with the country, with the seat of government, or with the people. In the Hebrew Scriptures Sennacherib is described as King of Assyria, Nebuchadnezzar as King of Babylon, and Belshazzar as King of the Chaldeans. We also read in Scripture of Cyrus, King of Persia, and Darius the Mede, while the King of Egypt is always spoken of as connected with his dominions. We have specimens of each of these forms in the inscribed records of ancient Assyria, Persia and Egypt.

In that of Darius, on the rock at Behistun, he describes himself as King of Kings, King of Persia, and also King of a long list of conquered countries; but, as a general rule, there is, in ancient records, an absence of anything like a definition

¹ Journ. R.A.S. Vol. XVII. p. 192.

of the limits or extent of the sovereign's dominions, as inconsistent with the arrogance of the claim to be King of Kings, or Lord of the world.¹

In modern Eastern history we have the same varied modes of expressing sovereignty; it is, however, common to find the sovereign described as the Amir or Sultan, as the case may be, of the seat of his government. In coins it is very rare to find any mention of territorial sovereignty; and with the rise of Islam it became the rule to set forth professions of faith, texts from the Koran and religious titles, all expressive of a great religious movement, that left scanty room for the personal or territorial claims of the ruler.

As a specimen of the variety of style in use at the same time, I quote from the *Malfusat-i-Timuri* the reasons which were employed to urge that great conqueror to the invasion of India. They are given in the form of a speech from his son Shah Rukh:—"I have seen," he says, "in the history of Persia, that, in the time of the Persian Sultans, the King of India was called *Dárái*, with all honour and glory; on account of his dignity, he bore no other name; and the Emperor of Rome was called *Cæsar*, and the Sultan of Persia was called *Kisrá*,² and the Sultan of the Tatars, *Khacan*, and the Emperor of China, *Faghfur*; but the King of Irán and Túrán bore the title of *Shahinshah*, and the orders of the *Shahinshah* were always paramount over the princes and *Rajas* of Hindustan, and praise be to God that we are at this time *Shahinshah* of Irán and Túrán, and it would be a pity that we should not be supreme over the country of Hindustan." Timur is said to have been highly pleased with the address, whereupon another of the Princes adds: "The whole country of India is full of gold and jewels," and, after proceeding at length in this strain, he concludes: "Now, since the inhabitants are chiefly polytheists, and infidels, and wor-

¹ In the collection of these monuments, published in the "Records of the Past," Shalmaneser is variously described as "King of the four races" (vol. i. p. 13), and "King of multitudes of men," "King of the four zones of the Sun" (vol. v. p. 29). This is obviously an assertion of universal dominion. May not this be the prototype of the *Ἄναξ ἀνδρῶν* of Homer?

² Khosru.

shippers of the Sun, by the order of God and his Prophet, it is right for us to conquer them." And so the invasion of India was resolved upon.¹

MALIK.

I will commence my review of these titles with that which bears the stamp of the highest antiquity, which has come down to us from the time of Melchizedek, King of Salem, and is the ordinary designation of kings or rulers in the Hebrew Scripture. From the same root we have the names of the god of the Ammonites and of other nations bordering on Palestine, as *Moloch* or *Malcham*.² It was the title of the monarchs of Assyria and of the Sassanian dynasty of Persia. The same root in its passive form becomes at once the designation of a slave (*Mamlúk*), and the title of sovereignty borne by a dynasty which ruled in Egypt. It is the ordinary Arabic designation of king or ruler, and is used as such by the Arabian historians of the Crusades, though with Eastern sovereigns of this period it was generally combined with the novel title of Sultan, by which it was finally superseded. The noun formed from the same root, *Mülk*, kingdom, continued to be used in royal edicts, and is in common use in this sense to the present day. But the title *Malik*, king, has passed away, and has only been applied for several centuries as a proper name, or in the sense of pro-

¹ Elliot's *Historians of India*, vol. ii. p. 396.

² It is variously rendered Molech or Moloch, Milcom, or Malcham. Another variety appears in 2 Kings xvii. 31, where the Sepharvites are described as burning their children in fire to Adrammelech and Annamelech, the gods of Sepharvaim. The word Malcham is sometimes rendered, in the Authorized Version, "their King," as in the account of Joab's expedition against the Ammonites, 1 Chron. xx. 2. On this occasion David takes the crown of "their King" from off his head. It weighs a talent of gold, and is set on David's head. In the Hebrew *Malcham* occurs, and in the Septuagint *Μολχομ*. So also Zephaniah i 5, where the translation is open to similar doubt. (Selden de Diis Syris, in re Moloch.) The connexion between Moloch and Baal seems well established, and as Baal, like Moloch, is interpreted prince, there is an identity of title as well as of rites. The Carthaginians, as also the Phœnicians, were said by the ancients to worship *Χρόνος* or Saturn. Human sacrifices were common to all. We accordingly find the title Bal commonly affected by the Carthaginians, and forming part of the name by which Hannibal and others are known to history; but Malik is also used, as in the case of Hannibal's father, Hamilkar. According to Gesenius (Phœn. Monum., p. 407), the former means "the grace and favour of Baal," the latter "the gift of Melkarth" (king of the city), the tutelary deity of the Tyrians.

prietor of land; its derivative, too, *Malikana*, as a revenue term, being well known to public servants in India.

Such is the history of this once famous title. I shall proceed to give some examples in illustration of its history.

Malik is rendered king in the Authorized Version, and is to be found in compounds, as Abimelech, son of a king, a title of the Philistines, and Melchizedek. *Adonai*, which is rendered κύριος, lord, is also applied to kings, and used as a term of respect; and we also have it as a term implying ruler, as *Adonibezek*, lord of Bezek. When the monarchy was revived under the Maccabees, the title of Malik came again into use. The earliest of this race who coined money were content with expressions of their faith, such as "the redemption of Zion," or "Jerusalem the holy;" but when the royal title was assumed, the name and superscription appear on the coins. The form is that of *Hammalek*, with the definite article prefixed.

In the Assyrian inscriptions the term *Sar* seems to be in more frequent use. In Mr. H. F. Talbot's translation of the inscriptions of Sennacherib, and also in Rawlinson's translation of the Birs-i-Nimrud inscription, a third term is given, *ribitu*.¹ I insert from Norris's Assyrian Dictionary his remarks on the use of these words: "Malik, Malku; monarch, king, ruler (Heb. מֶלֶךְ). Malki, Maliki; monarchs, kings, rulers; Malkut, kingdom. *Sar* invariably follows the kings' names, as the royal title Malik often appears upon other occasions, but with the same meaning apparently; but I usually put 'monarch' or 'ruler' when the two words occur in the same sentence."

I infer from these remarks that no question arises among Assyrian scholars at present as to the phonetic value of these terms, as was the case when their studies were young, and that the term Malik may be accepted as one of those be-tokening sovereignty in that empire. We do indeed find the term applied in one instance in the Hebrew Scriptures to an Assyrian prince, but it is there used as the proper name

¹ Journ. R.A.S. Vol. XIX. p. 135; Vol. XVIII. p. 42.

of the son of Sennacherib, *Adramelek*. I do not find any instance in the examples given by Norris, and in others that have appeared, of the two titles being joined together, as was the usage in later Asiatic monarchies. Each term has a distinct signification. *Sar Sarin* is the equivalent of King of Kings, and appears in Talbot's version of the inscription of Darius.¹

In the Sassanian inscriptions we proceed upon surer ground, as we not merely have the aid of bilingual inscriptions in the Greek and Persian languages, but the phonetic signs are limited to a moderate alphabet; and although there is some obscurity as to the value of certain letters, there is apparently little doubt as to the general tenour. *Mulka* and *Mulkan mulka* are the terms employed for King and King of Kings, upon coins, seals, and inscriptions. For examples, I refer to Mr. Thomas's paper in the third volume of our Journal (New Series). The usual title runs King of Kings of Iran, that is, of the Arians, or King of Kings of Iran and Aniran. The former is a singular limitation of sovereignty. To be King of Kings of Iran only is a great falling off from the claims of the ancient Kings of Persia to be Kings of the whole Earth. This higher title may be included in the latter instance, if we take Aniran to mean the non-Arian race. But the bare title of King of Kings had lost the importance which had once belonged to it, owing to its being used by sovereigns of inferior power, such as the Kings of Parthia, Bactriana, etc. There was no want of assumption of regal or divine attributes by the Sassanian monarchs, and they vied with the Byzantine monarchs in the use of high-sounding titles and epithets. I will take as an example No. 4 of Mr. Thomas's translations, because it includes the two forms noted above, and Sapor claims a wider rule than that enjoyed by his father. The inscription is on one of the bas-reliefs transcribed by Niebuhr and other travellers. It runs thus: "Image of the person of (or) mazd worshipper, divine SHAH-PŪHR, King of Kings of Iran and Aniran, of celestial origin from God, the son of (or) mazd worshipper, divine ARTAH-

¹ Journ. R.A.S. Vol. XIX. p. 262.

SHATR, King of Kings of Iran, of celestial origin from God, the son of divine PAPAΚ, King.”¹

I am tempted to add another specimen of Sassanian titles, because it illustrates the rivalry of rulers of this epoch in the use of epithets. They were moderately used by Greek sovereigns in Syria and Egypt, and were adopted by the Parthian rulers. They were multiplied in the Roman empire in its decay, and the following list of epithets is employed by Khusru Núshírwan in addressing Justinian, one of the greatest offenders in this respect (see the specimen which I have given above, page 326). The passage is quoted by Mr. Thomas, in his paper on Sassanian inscriptions before referred to, from Menander, de legationibus Romanorum ad gentes. “The divine, the good, the peace-preserver, the ancient Khusru, King of Kings, the fortunate, the pious, the good worker, to whom the gods have given great fortune and a great kingdom, giant of giants, who is distinguished by the gods, to Justinian Cæsar our brother.”²

Some of the epithets, it will be observed, are identical with those in use in the Roman empire.

When the Sassanian empire was overthrown by the Arabs, their titles perished with them. The head of the new state was but one of many Amirs (commanders), but he was the Commander of the Faithful, and appointed the generals of the armies and governors of conquered provinces. The term Malik, though not applied to the head of the government, continued in use as expressive of rule, and will be found to be used in this sense in the history of the Crusades. It is also used as a proper name, and was borne by several Arab

¹ The translation which is given by Mr. West in the fourth volume of our Journal (New Series), p. 363, differs but slightly from the above. The Greek of the 4th Inscription runs as follows:

ΤΟ ΠΡΟΣΩΠΟΝ ΤΟΥΤΟ ΜΑΣΔΑΣΝΟΥ ΘΕΟΥ ΣΑΠΠΡΟΥΤ
 ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΑΡΙΟΥΝΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΑΝΑΡΙΑΝΩΝ ΕΚΓΕΝΟΥΣ
 ΘΕΩΝ υιου ΜΑΣΔΑΣΝΟΥ ΘΕΟΥ ΑΡΤΑΞΑΡΟΥΤ
 ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΑΡΙΑΝΩΝ ΕΚΓΕΝΟΥΣ θεων
 ΕΚΓΟΝΟΥ ΘΕΟΥ ΠΑΠΑΚΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ.

² ἢ δὲ τοῦ Περσῶν βασιλέως γράμμασι μὲν ἐγράφη Περσικοῖς, τῆ δὲ Ἑλληνίδι φωνῇ κατὰ ταῦτα δήπουθεν ἰσχύει τὰ ρήματα “Θεῖος, ἀγαθός, εἰρηνοπάτριος, ἀρχαῖος χροσρῆς, βασιλεὺς βασιλέων, ευτυχῆς, ευσεβῆς, ἀγαθοποιός, ὧτινι Θεοὶ μεγάλην τύχην καὶ μέγαλην βασιλείαν, δεδώκασι, γίγας γιγάντων, ὃς ἐκ θεῶν χαοακταρί-ξεται, Ἰουστινιανῶ Καίσαρι, ἀδελθῶ ἡμετέρῳ.”

writers of eminence, and especially by a celebrated doctor who lived in the second century of the Hejra. Malik ben Nasr, an ancestor of Muhammad, is said to have visited the court of Sapor, the third Sassanian monarch of that name, and to have deprecated, on the part of the Arab chiefs by whom he was deputed, a threatened attack on them, in which that sovereign aimed at their extermination, because, as he informed their ambassador, his astrologers had told him that there would arise among them a person who would overthrow the Persian monarchy. Malik is said to have calmed the wrath of Sapor by suggesting, in the first instance, that astrologers were a class given to lying; and, secondly, that it would be an act of prudence to take milder measures with regard to a race destined to rule over his people.¹

Instances of its use as a proper name occur frequently, and in the form of Abd el Malik, it was borne by one of the Khalifs of the race of Ommiah. I do not find any instance of its being employed as a title of dignity during the first centuries of Muhammadanism, but it came into use as such under the rulers of Egypt. It was conferred on dependent princes, governors, and persons holding high commands. We have *Malik il Misr*, Malik of Egypt, and the title of *Amir il Omra* converted into *Malik il Omra*.

Abulfeda, describing the events of the year 564 of the Hejra, which was the turning-point of the fortunes of Saladin, says that on his (Saladin's) brother's advance into Egypt, the Franks evacuated it, and they received messages of welcome from the reigning Khalif. Saladin and some other officers of the army seized Shavir, the Vizier, who was then put to death by direction of the Khalif of the Fatimite dynasty reigning in Cairo. Whereupon Shircoh, Saladin's brother, was directed to repair to Cairo to receive his investiture, nominally as Vizier, but substantially as ruler of Egypt. The letter patent, which is given in full, is addressed by the servant of God, Commander of the Faithful, to the illustrious Lord (Syud), the victorious Prince (Malik), the Sultan of the armies, friend of the Imams, protector of

¹ D'Herbelot.

the people.”¹ The title appears here merely as one of honour, but it was borne by all ruling princes in Egypt and Syria. Saladin, though in history he appears as the Sultan, par excellence, adds this to his other titles, and the same practice was followed by ruling princes of his family, and also by inferior princes, as the Atabegs of Mosul, the Ayubites of Damascus, Aleppo, and Emesa. In all these cases the title is accompanied by an epithet to which some significance is attached. *Il Malik il Mansur*, the victorious prince; *il Malik il Rahim*, the merciful prince; *il Malik es Saleh*, the excellent prince. At the same time it was applied to reigning princes of great states; as the King of England, in Arabian writers of the Crusades, is *Malik il Angtar*,² the French King is *Malik il Faranj*.³

In the bilingual inscriptions of the Norman Kings of Sicily *Malik* is used as the equivalent of *Rex*. We have *Il Malik il Rajar*, or *Il Malik il Tankrid*. In a well-known incident at the close of the Norman dominion, the title *Sultan* is employed in a sarcastic spirit, as if it was especially offensive. The Arabs, or Saracens, as they are called, formed a large portion of the population, and were treated with great consideration by the Norman kings. This became a reproach to them, during the Crusades, and gave some colour to that which Pope Urban IV. preached against Manfred, the last of his race. How much the Norman rulers relied on this portion of their subjects appears from the colonization of Apulia, under the policy of Manfred's father, Frederick II. Before the Holy War was directed against Manfred, Pope Alexander IV. offered to recognize him if he would restore the estates of certain Barons, and expel the Saracens. Manfred acceded to the first of these demands, but resolutely refused the second, relying more on the fidelity of his Saracens than on the Christian Barons, of

الي السيد الاجل الملك المنصور سُلطان الجيوش ولي الاسمته¹
 • سمير الامة

² ملك الانكتار

³ ملك الفرنج

whose fickleness he had had experience. Charles d'Anjou was accordingly called in, and the crusade was begun. When Manfred sent deputies to propose terms, "return to your master, the *Sultan* of Nocera," was the reply, "and tell him that I shall either send him to hell, or he shall send me to paradise." Readers of Dante will remember the lines where the poet encounters the hero in a region which was neither heaven nor hell, and is charged to carry to Manfred's daughter the consoling message that the goodness of heaven has arms ready to receive all who turn to him.

The same title also appears on the bilingual coins of the Kings and Queens of Georgia of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. The use of the Arabic language is supposed to be token a recognition of the superiority of the Seljuk and Ortokite princes. I do not think any such inference is to be drawn from their borrowing the language or expressions of other nations; similar devices have been frequently resorted to by powerful sovereigns, with a view to aid the circulation of the coinage. Indeed the terms employed involve a claim of independence. I take the first specimen in the examples given by Marsden: "King of Kings (*Malik il Malúk*), Giúrgi ben Dímitri, sword of the Messiah." The second, that of the Queen Támár, is also a specimen of the application of Muhammadan formularies to Christianity: "Queen of Queens, glory of the world and of religion, Támár, daughter of Giúrgi, protector of (the religion of) the Messiah."¹

On the rise of the Mogul power in the thirteenth century, the title I have now under review seems to have fallen into disuse as a royal designation. The Tatar chiefs brought with them from the north that of Khan or Khacan, and this has been constantly employed both by Turks and Moguls ever since. The title Sultan maintained its ground, but not Malik. Quatremère, in the Appendix to the second volume of his translation of Makrizi's History of the Mamluk Sovereigns of Egypt, gives a full extract from a work descriptive of the forms and styles in use in the Egyptian

chancery, and in this the formulary is given under which they were accustomed to address the Great Khans of the Moguls of Iran, and it is added that they did not add the word ملكية, royal, because that title was in no repute with the Moguls.¹

Hulaku, the grandson of Jengiz Khan, and the first Mogul King of Persia, did indeed use the title of Malik on his coins, in the strange form of *Malik il-Malik*, which Marsden renders rex regnorum. But it does not appear on the coins of his descendants. The only formulary in which any word derived from this root is used in the sense of royalty is in the ever-recurring expression, common to all dynasties: "May God preserve his kingdom" (*Malkat* or *Mûlk*).

In the pages of Ferishta we find the title constantly recurring, but not as applied to the head of the state. Many of the leading nobles during the Patan rule had it prefixed to their names, and Briggs, in a note to a passage referring to a list of names of the associates of Jelal ud-din, each of whom is distinguished by this prefix, seems to think that their partiality to its use had something to do with their claims to a Jewish origin.² There is no occasion, however, to resort to so forced a supposition to account for the continued use of a title, once held in high esteem, but which, under a course of degradation common to other Eastern designations, had sunk to a lower level. Ibn Batuta³ makes a remark as to the use of the title in India when he visited it in the fourteenth century, which I quote from Price's translation. After mentioning that the Emperor (*i.e.* the Sultan) sent his Vizier with a number of kings, doctors, and grandees to receive the travellers, he adds: "An Emir is with them termed King." The term King is obviously Malik.⁴

¹ The full address runs as follows :

المحضرة الشريفة العالمية السلطانية الاعظمية الشاهنشاهية الوحيدة القانية القلانية "Sa Majesté noble, élevée, le Sultan auguste, le roi des rois, unique, frère, le Kan un tel."

² Briggs's *Ferishta*, vol. i. p. 291.

³ Price's translation, p. 110.

⁴ Mr. N. B. E. Baillie has directed my attention to a passage in Elliot's *Historians* bearing on this point (vol. iii. p. 576), which runs thus: "As regards the great officers of state, those of the highest rank are called Khans, then the Maliks, then the Amirs, etc."

It will not interest the reader to trace the decline of this title any further.

In our own times we find words derived from this root still in use, both in India and in Turkey, connected with property in land. It is to be observed that the root, *Milk*, is given in our dictionaries with the meaning of possession. I am unable to say whether it was employed in that sense in old law treatises. In the *Futtawa Alemgiri*, translated by Mr. N. B. E. Baillie, we find *Malik* used as proprietor, and *Málík*, the present participle, is in Wilson's Glossary of Indian Terms rendered master or proprietor, and applied to persons in Bengal and the North-West Provinces having hereditary rights in the land, and specially applicable to the head man of the village, who is also designated *Málík-mukaddam* or *Málík-zamindar*. *Malikana* is the special due of the same owners when they are not in the actual possession of the land.

In Turkey *Malikana* is applied to Crown grants of land, and *Múlík* to freehold property.

Before parting from this part of my subject, I should not omit to notice a singular use of this title by the Yezidis, or worshippers of the Devil, mentioned by Mr. Layard.¹ The word *Sheitan*, or any word which resembles it in sound, never passes their lips. "When they speak of the Devil," says Mr. Layard, "they do so with reverence as *Melek Taous*, King Peacock, or *Melek el Kout*, the mighty Angel. Sheikh Nasr distinctly admitted that they possessed a bronze figure or copper figure of a bird, which, however, he was careful in explaining was only looked upon as a symbol, and not as an idol." In a subsequent visit to these sectaries Mr. Layard was permitted by one of the Cawals or priests to see this idol, which was enshrined in an inner room and approached with the utmost reverence. We are favoured with a drawing of this representation of the fallen archangel.²

¹ Layard's *Nineveh*, vol. i. p. 298.

² Layard's *Nineveh and Babylon*, p. 48.

SULTAN.

I come now to a title which is more directly associated with imperial rule, in the European sense of the word, than any of the preceding. Its antiquity is indisputable, though not employed in the sense of sovereign ruler. Selden¹ points out that the title *Siltonim* is applied in the Book of Daniel to the lords of the Assyrian monarchy, and is traceable to the same root as Sultan, *Salat*, which signifies to rule, both in Hebrew and Arabic.

With the exception of the instances given above, the traces of the ancient use of the title are very obscure. Manetho, quoted by Josephus, gives *Salatis* as the name of the first of the *Hyksos* or Shepherd Kings of Egypt, a name which has been supposed to be derived from the same root. In one of the Khorsabad inscriptions, translated by Oppert and Menant,² the title appears in the following passage: "Hanon roi de Gaza et Lebech *Sultan* d'Egypte se reunirent à Rapih pour y livrer combat et bataille." The title is also said to have been applied to the Governor of Babylon while it was subject to Assyria, and used in the sense of royal on Babylonian weights.

Equally obscure are the traces of its use in modern times, and before the tenth century A.D., at which period it is said to have started into life, and became associated with the renown of a great conqueror. D'Herbelot, following this tradition, says it was first applied to Mahmud in the way of compliment, and pleased him so much that he bore the title ever afterwards,³ and Gibbon, accepting this statement, says it

¹ Titles of Honour. *Vide* Daniel, vi. 3. The word is rendered in the Authorized Version, rulers (of the provinces), and in the Septuagint ἀρχόντας.

² Journal Asiatique, 1863, p. 9.

³ The story, as told by d'Herbelot, is that Khalaf, ruler of Seistan, a prince who rose into importance in the troubles of the times, being attacked by Mahmud, made his submission and brought the keys of the place, recognizing Mahmud as his *Sultan*. Under the article Sultau in the same Dictionary, Khalaf is described as the Ambassador of the Khalif. The former account is also given by Sir J. Maleolm, in his History of Persia, from the *Zeenut al Towarikh*. Another apocryphal story is given by D'Herbelot with regard to the title of *Waly*, also said to have been conferred by the reigning Khalif, the improbability of which is pointed out by Mr. Thomas in his Essay on the Coins of Ghazni. Ferishta and other writers mention the congratulatory messages of the Khalif, but the titles con-

was expressly invented for Mahmud. There is, however, reason to suppose that it was used in Muhammadan times before the accession of Mahmud. Weil, in his *History of the Khalifs*, tells us that it is traceable to the times of the Khalif Motawakkel, and that it was applied to one of the commanders of his forces, who is described as the Sultan of a province.¹ This was in the ninth century of our era. In the *Kitab-i-Yamini*, containing the lives of Sabaktagin and his son, said to be derived from contemporary sources, Sabaktagin is described simply as the Amir, while Mahmud is uniformly spoken of as the Sultan; but the title is not confined to him, for one of the Samani rulers of Bokhara received, on his accession, the oaths of his troops as their general and Sultan. From these instances, and from the use in later times of the title of Sultan of armies, I infer that it was applied to high military commands, something in the way that the title Emperor was used in Rome.

However this may be, the title acquired importance when associated with the renown of the Sultan Mahmud, as his name appears in history. It was borne by his successors, and was the special title by which the Patan sovereigns of Dehli were distinguished, and it seems to have been particularly affected by Turkish dynasties in western Asia. We have seen that Malik Shah received the investiture of the title and power of Sultan at the hands of the reigning

ferred were religious titles in ordinary usage. Amidst this confusion, the only point on which one can rest with confidence is that the title is especially connected with the Ghaznevide dynasty, and that uniform tradition applies it to Mahmud as the first to employ it as a royal title. Mr. Thomas does, indeed, point out, in his *Essay on the Coins of the Kings of Ghazni*, that the title does not appear on the coins of Mahmud, nor of his immediate successors, and he infers from this that, although this great conqueror may have been addressed by this form, he did not employ it in his official acts. The evidence of these coins is not, however, conclusive on such a point, for they are so overlaid with Muhammadan symbols and texts from the Koran, that there is little room left for more than the bare name of the sovereign. When anything is added, it is generally one or more of those titles, like "right hand of the state," which mark his allegiance to the Khalif.

¹ *Geschichte der Caliphen*, vol. ii. p. 345, note. "Von einem Sultanstitel sheint aber auch Freitag un seinem Quellen nach gefunden zu haben. Erst unter Mutawakkel kommt der Sultanstitel bei Halebi vor, da heisst es (p. 24) Afsharbanian war einer der Feldherren Mutawakkels und seiner vertrauter. Mutawakkel ernannte ihn entweder zum oberhaupte den truppen von Kinestrin ober er war der Sultan zur zeit Mutawakkels so dass er die unterstatthalter entsetzen konnte."

Khalif. An equally powerful prince of the race of Othman, Bayazid, is said to have sent a brilliant embassy to Egypt to receive from the Khalif his benediction and investiture. Both of these great dynasties have been specially known in history with this title, which was also borne by Saladin and his successors, and by the Mamluk sovereigns in Egypt. It was not, however, confined to the ruling sovereigns of these dynasties. Abulfeda, who was descended from a brother of Saladin, received the *Sultanat* of Hamath from the reigning sovereign in Egypt. This appears distinctly in the notice of his life in the biographical dictionary of Aboul-Mahassan, quoted by Reinaud in his preface to the Geography of Abulfeda. The heading of a letter addressed to this prince gives him various titles, including that of Sultan, which are identical with those applied to the Sultan of Egypt.¹ The address was simply to the Prince of Hamath, that is, to the *Sahib*, a title in constant use in the early centuries of the Hejra, and in the history of Abulfeda. It is usually applied to the governors of places. It is evidently the counterpart of the Dominus or δεσπότης of the empire.

Another specimen of the style in use is given by Abulfeda himself in his narrative of the accession of his cousin to the same principality. In the letter addressed to his uncle during his illness by the Sultan, the titles correspond very nearly to those quoted above, but the heading is curious—"on the part of the *Mamluk* Kalaun." It is said by Quatremère that it was the practice of the Mamluk princes of both dynasties to make use of this title, expressive of their servile origin. In the passage of Makrizi's history which gives rise to this remark, the Sultan Bibars exchanges presents with the ruler of Yemen, and is described as tracing with his own hand the heading of the letter, "the *Mamluk*" (*Histoire des Sultans Mamlouks*, part ii., p. 49, note). Some examples of the same style are given by Quatremère in the second volume of the same work, p. 5, note.

¹ وبالمقام السريف العالي المولى السلطاني العمادي الملك المويدي
وضي العموان صاحباً حماتاً.

In the work on the forms of the Egyptian Chancery, referred to on a preceding page, an illustration is given of the care that was taken in the use of this servile designation. It should be observed that it was commonly employed in letters addressed to those of inferior rank. In other cases difficulties arose. In the instance given the sovereign was the Khan of Kabjak, and his titles are recited in full. This is the author's comment, which I quote from Quatremère's translation:—
 “Lorsque la paix eut été conclue entre le Sultan Naser Mohammed ben Kelaoun, et le Khan Abou Said, le Kadi Ala Eddin Ebn Alathir réfléchit durant un mois sur la forme que l'on devait adopter pour la correspondance. Il dit au Sultan. Si, en écrivant au prince nous employons la formula, *son frère* أخوه, peut-être la chose ne lui conviendra pas. Si nous mettons le Mamlouk, et que nous ne disions pas, il est le Mamlouk, ce serait une honte pour nous, et nous ne pourrions plus changer la mode de la correspondance.”

There is an exception to the general use by Turkish conquerors of the title Sultan about the same epoch, in the case of the Turkoman Ortokites, who reigned in Syria, and who usually styled themselves Maliks of Diarbekr, a very rare instance of a territorial title appearing on coins; sometimes Malik is employed with one of the usual epithets, *il nasir* or *es-saleh*. The Atabegs of Syria, powerful chiefs, who rose to power when that of the Seljuk rulers declined, seem not to have ventured on the title of Sultan.

The Mogul conquerors of Asia did not affect the title during the beginning of their career. They brought with them that of Khan or Khacan from the North, and used it on their coins. Thus that of Hulaku, grandson of Jengiz Khan, the first Mogul King of Persia, runs: “King of Kings, the greatest Kaan, Hulaku, the illustrious Khan.”¹ The title of Sultan came, however, soon into use among the descendants of Jengiz, and is found on coins of their dynasty

¹ ملك الملك قان الاعظم دولاقو ايلخان المعظم. The term ملك الاعظم قان is supposed by Marsden to be intended for Hulaku's father, Mangu Khan, whose supremacy was thus acknowledged.

and of that branch of the family who founded a kingdom on the northern shores of the Caspian, and are known by the designation of the Khans of Kapchak.

In Persia it was rarely used after the accession of the Sufi dynasty in the sixteenth century. The only instances of its appearance on their coins that have come under my notice are in the case of Hussein, who reigned at the close of the seventeenth century, and of the famous Nadir Shah, whose title on his coins runs, "Nadir, lord of the (planetary) conjunctions, is Sultan of the Sultans of the world, Shah of Shahs."¹

Long ere this, the title had been applied to sovereigns of every rank and degree, without the title itself being connected with anything which we connect with imperial rule. The mode of using the title varied in different states and with different sovereigns. With the Patan monarchs in India it was usually accompanied by an epithet, the great, or the just. Eighteen of these sovereigns bear on their coins descriptions of this nature; seven have the curious combination of Shah Sultan; two are described as Sultan of Sultans. Saladin, we have seen, bore the title of Sultan of the Faith, and another Egyptian ruler received the title of Sultan of the armies (of the Khalif). The house of Othman, though it had its weaknesses, did not deal in these high-sounding epithets. In their early coinage we have merely Orkhan, son of Othman, or Bayazid, son of Murad; but afterwards, when Sultan was joined to the names, the titles were Sultan Bayazid (the second), the son of Muhammad, or Sultan Suleiman, son of Selim. We have none of those affected titles, implying zeal for the faith, which were introduced by the Khalifs. The sovereigns reign with the name which they received in their infancy.² On the other hand, they exhibited as much ostentatious display of titles in their public acts as

¹ دست سلطان بر سلاطین جهان شاه شاهان نادر صاحب قران .

² In the letter from Achmet to Henry IV. of France, before referred to, the sovereign is described as Achmet filz de l'Empereur Mahomet, de l'Empereur Amorat, etc. Through the whole pedigree l'Empereur may be assumed to be Sultan in the original.

any of their predecessors, either in Europe or Asia. D'Ohsson¹ enumerates the following titles as used by these sovereigns: Shah, Padishah, Shahinshah, Khan, Khacan, Khundkear, and Khaudawendikear, in imitation, as he remarks, of ancient kings in the East. This mixture of titles belongs to the East, but the Othman rulers also copied the style of the Greek Emperors of Constantinople, in the use of the expression lord of the two continents and of the two seas,² and they exceeded the extravagance of feudal rulers in the West in setting out their territorial possessions.

A specimen of this style is given by Selden as it was employed in the seventeenth century. The letter of Ahmet addressed to Henry IV. of France describes the Sultan as ruler of Europe, Asia, and Africa, conquered by his victorious sword and lance. This is qualified by the recital, "ascavoir de pays et royaumes de la Grece, de Themisuar, de Bossena, de Seguituar, des pays et des royaumes de l'Asie, de la Natolie, de la Caramanie," etc., etc. I spare the reader the full recital. It was not usual to set forth these detailed claims in treaties. In one instance I find the Sultan described as the Emperor of Asia and of Greece,³ but it is more common to describe him simply as the Emperor or Padshah of the Ottomans, or the Sublime Porte.

In the heading of a treaty between the Ottoman Porte and the Government of Venice, in the year 1595, given in a recent number of the *Journal Asiatique*, he is fancifully described as the Sultan of the Sultans of the world, the first of the Khacans of the age, and the distributor of the Crown of the Khosrous of the world.⁴

It is in letters patent and in capitulations that the territorial claims appear in their utmost licence. For a specimen

¹ *Tableau général de l'Empire Ottoman.*

² سلطان البرين و خاقان البحرین.

³ The treaty of peace between Charles VI. of Germany and Achmed Khan, 1718.

⁴ سلاطين جهان و برهان خواقين دوران تاج بخش جسموان
روي زمين سلطان.

of this style, I refer the reader to one which is given in the Supplement au Corps Diplomatique, vol. v. p. 727, where the dominions subject to the Ottoman rule are described with extreme minuteness, extending over provinces, cities and islands, both in Asia and Europe.

I must, however, give insertion to the following specimen of Turkish grandiloquence, which I have selected because it enables me to add the proper designations from the original. It is taken from Meninski's Lexicon, under the title Padshah: "Magnorum mundi principum regumque supremi, ac illustrium seculi monarcharum maximi, maris utriusque ac terræ domini, (*Sultan*), orientis ac occidentis utriusque monarchæ (*Khacan*), ambarum basilicarum civitatumque sanctorum (Meccæ et Medinæ) servi, oculi hominum et pupillæ oculorum, assertoris securitatis et tranquillitatis mortalium, auctoris quietis humanorum cordium, gratia regis invocati Dei triumphatoris, et ope gloriosi et benefici Dei fulti victoris, magnificentissimi, terribilissimi, potentissimi monarchæ (*Padshah*), nostri Sultan Abdulrehmed Cham, cujus imperii (*Khilafateh*) continuata series nunquam deficeat, imo extendetur usque ad finem seculi, felix et fulgida porta."

I return to the history of this title in the East. The extent to which it was in use in the fourteenth century is well illustrated in the travels of Ibn Batuta. At this time Central and Western Asia were divided among a variety of principalities, to the rulers of which the title of Sultan is almost uniformly applied. The irruptions of the Moguls in the previous century had shattered the power of the Turks, but had laid the foundation of no strong government, except in China. The Othman family was rising into importance, but the condition of these countries was such that every governor of a province assumed the title of Sultan. In Asia Minor only, this traveller names no less than ten princes bearing that designation and described as the Sultans of different places. In the following passage the term is used as the equivalent of ruler. He is speaking of the Khan of Kipchak: "This Sultan, Mahomed Uzbek, is one of the seven great kings of the world; which are the

Sultan of the West, the Sultan of Egypt and Syria, the Sultan of the two Iraks, the Sultan of the Turks Uzbek, the Sultan of Turkistan and Marwara el Nahar, the Sultan of India, and the Sultan of China." This indiscriminate use of the term on the part of a traveller is, of course, only to be taken as a proof of the sense in which it was popularly employed; but the usage is confirmed by the inscriptions on the coins of this period, whether of Turkish or Mogul rulers.

D'Herbelot says that Timur did not assume the title of Sultan until late in his career, that title having been hitherto reserved to the family of Jengiz Khan. This remark may be assumed to apply to the branch of the family which reigned in Turkistan. Coins are extant¹ with the names of Muhammad Khan, the last member of this branch, and that of Timur conjoined. In the specimens of the coins of Timur and his descendants, which are given by Fraehn, the name of Sultan Muhammad Khan is joined not merely with that of Timur, but of his son. In those coins of Timur, in which his name appears alone, the legend runs simply, Amir Timur Gurgan. In the work on the forms in usage in the Egyptian court, referred to by Quatremère in the appendix to his translation of Makrizi's history, mention is made of a letter addressed by Timur to Malik Dhaher Barkok; the signature of the great conqueror runs simply Timur Kurkan. The reply was in the form usually applied to the Amirs of those countries, and it is said that Timur took great offence at the omission of the title Khan. The title Sultan was evidently in no great repute, though it is applied to him with other designations in the Khutbeh, already quoted, and appears on the coins of his descendants.

This, indeed, appears more conclusively in the memoirs of his descendant, the founder of the so-called Mogul dynasty in India. In the time of Baber this title was still borne by the Patan sovereigns of Dehli, and by the Muhammadan rulers in the South. The adversary whose power Baber overthrew at the Battle of Paniput is described by him

¹ Marsden, vol. i. p. 277. The inscription runs, "Sultan Muhammad Khan Amir Timur Gurgan."

as Sultan Ibrahim, and he speaks of the Muhammadan rulers in Southern India as the Sultans of the Deccan; but the title had then become so common that in a great engagement between the Uzbegs and Turkomans in Central Asia, no less than nine Sultans are said to have fallen in one of the armies; and a considerable number of the officers in command of divisions in Baber's Indian armies bear this prefix. We read of Sultans as well as Khans of the Uzbegs, but in Baber's own family the manner in which the title was applied leaves some doubt whether it was an honorary title or proper name. His own father, who reigned at Ferghana, is simply Omer Sheik Mirza, and one of his uncles, who reigned at Cabul, is described as Ulugh Beg Mirza; but three of his uncles on his father's side and one on his mother's have the prefix of Sultan. It was also applied to some ladies of his family. How little importance was attached in his own mind to the title is clear from his remark, when he assumed that of Padshah: "Till this time," he says, "the family of Timur Beg, even although on the throne, had never assumed any other title than that of Mirza.¹ At this period I ordered that they should style me Padshah."

With the rise of the new dynasty the title declined, and almost passed away in Eastern Asia. It appears on some of the coins of Baber and also of Akbar, but the usual title of this dynasty was that of Padshah, or Padshah Ghazi, (victorious for the faith), a title which was uniformly borne by Baber's successors, even by Shah Alum at the lowest point of the fortunes of the family.

Though assumed by Nadir Shah in the form of Sultan of Sultans, it has long since ceased to be the title of any such sovereign, except that of Constantinople. Tipu Sahib took the title of Sultan on his accession, and we hear of petty Muhammadan chiefs in the Indian Archipelago and elsewhere, such as the Sultans of Perak and of Zanzibar, who still bear the title. Were it not for its being connected with the Ottoman dynasty, one might say that it, like the others

¹ Abbreviation of Amirzadch.

I have mentioned, has run its course ; but, even in Turkey, one of the titles with which I have still to deal bears a higher significance than this ancient title of the family.

Before quitting this subject I may add a remark on its application to females. Sultan originally admitted of both genders. Reziah, daughter of Altamsh, reigned at Dehli in the thirteenth century as Sultan. The title on her coins runs : "The great Sultan Reziah, of the world and of religion."¹ In Baber's time it was applied to several ladies of his family. Two of his sisters bore respectively the names of Yadgar Sultan Begum and Rokhia Sultan Begum, and the name of the mother of the former, who was a concubine, was Agha Sultan. The conversion of the word into a female title, Sultana, is of Western origin, and seems to have taken its rise with the Greeks. Ducange, at the word *Σουλτάνα*, shows that it was introduced into the language of the Church. Cyril Lascares, Patriarch of Constantinople, applies the term to the mother of our Lord, in the sense in which the words Our Lady are employed in the West. The quotation runs : "*Τὴν μεγάλην βασιλίτσαν τὴν μεγάλην Σουλτάναν τὴν παναγίαν μας, τὴν κυρίαν μας, τὴν ἰδίαν τοῦ (χριστοῦ) μητέρα.*" This kind of barbarism was not confined to this particular title. Selden gives an example of the creation of the word Shahana for Queen, and applied to the wife of Yakub Beg by Murád II.

KHALIF.

This title, which was once connected with a wide empire, may be almost said to be obsolete ; for, although it is assumed by the Sultans of Constantinople, who use the title of universal Khalif, and claim to inherit the authority of the ancient Khalifs of Baghdad, the religious title is merged in their territorial authority, and carries very little weight beyond the immediate subjects of these princes.

Some of the sovereigns of this dynasty appear to have used it frequently. Leunclavius, quoted by Selden,² says that he

¹ السلطان الاعظم رضيه الدنيا والدين.

² Titles of Honour.

had seen it in the letters of Murád III. to the Emperor Rudolph II. Selden adds that it appears in letters patent of Suliman and Selim II., the word in the original being *chaliph olem*, "Khalif of the World." On the other hand, it does not appear in the letter addressed by Achmet to Henry IV. of France, of which a French translation is given by Selden in the same work. In the examples of Turkish titles quoted above from Meninski's Lexicon, it is not applied to the sovereign, but his empire is the Khalifat. The title, universal Khalif, which I have quoted above, is from D'Ohsson, vol. vi. p. 162; but this author, after giving a long list of the terms in use, adds that there is no invariable form, much being left to the discretion [and bad taste] of the Secretary of the Chancery.¹

The only other instance of the assumption of this title by any great sovereign which I have fallen in with is in the case of Akber, among specimens of his coinage given in the Ayeen Akbery. The inscription on one runs, "The Sultan of Sultans, the most exalted Khalif," while another is said to be struck at the Khalifat of Agra. It will be seen in my remarks on the title following this, that the Khalifs were more generally spoken of as Commanders of the Faithful, or Imams, this being, perhaps, the reason that the historical title appears so rarely on coins or public documents.

This title was originally assumed to denote the spiritual

¹ I may here add a curious passage, given by Selden to show that, in the very infancy of the rule of the Ottoman dynasty, the title of Khalif was affected by them. Orkhan, the son of the first Othman, addressed letters to the states of the Saracens in Africa and Spain, urging them to attack the Christians in Spain. This was translated by a Saracen captive into Latin, and thence into Spanish, and afterwards into French, and was sent with other letters of intelligence to Edward III. of England. "De moy Goldifa, vn ley Exerif, Savdan, seignior sages, fort et puissant seignior de la mesen de Mek du seint hauteesse, et en la sue saint vertu fesant justices hauts et basses, constreignant sur toux constreignants, seignior du raim di Turky et de Percy, retenour des terres de Hermenye, seignior de la dobbles et de les dobbles de la mere mervailouse, perceinor de les febles ore anutz en la saint ley Mahomet, seignior de la fort espee de Elias et de David que tua.—My book instructs me no further, but is here torn. Goldifa is Calipha."

I should suppose that the expression "la dobbles et les dobbles de la mere mervailouse" has reference to the claim of lordship over the two seas and of the two continents.

It has been pointed out to me that the Euxine received the title of wonderful from Herodotus. Darius sitting in the temple of Jupiter, while preparing for the passage of the Bosphorus, casts his eyes over the Euxine, to which the historian adds: Εόντα ἀξιοθέητον, πελαγῶν γάρ ἀπάντων πέφυκε Θαυμασιώτατος. iv. 85.

nature of the new government. It is said that Abubekr, the immediate successor of Muhammad, would take no other title than *Khalifah*¹ *resul allah*, the Vicegerent of the sent of God; and it was applied to all his successors until the final extinction of the Khalifat of Baghdad in the thirteenth century A.D. This empire received its first shock in the second century of the Hejra; the unwieldy empire rapidly fell to pieces, and the dignity was assumed by a member of the family of Ommiah, who founded a Khalifat dynasty in Spain, and, after the fall of Baghdad, one of the family of the last Khalif escaped to Egypt, and was recognized as Khalif, but without any temporal authority. A great prestige attached to this dignity, long after the Khalifs themselves ceased to lead the armies of the Faithful, and, in the lowest ebb of their power, they conferred titles and dignities, and disposed of provinces with the same confident assurance as the Popes of Rome.

The ecclesiastical character of their rule is recognized by contemporary European writers. The term Khalif is frequently rendered Papa or Pope, and, in a passage of Joinville, quoted by Selden, the Khalif of Baghdad is described as "l'Apostle des Sarazins," the term apostle being frequently applied to the Pope. Matthew of Paris writes, "In terrâ de Baldach habitat papa Saracenorum, qui Caliphus appellatur et tenetur in lege eorum et adoratur sicut Pontifex maximus apud nos."

In the palmy days of their power their court was one of great magnificence, and, even in its decline, the person of the Khalif was treated with the greatest respect, by the rude soldiers that stripped them of power. The Seljuk Sultans held their stirrups, and conducted them on foot to the mosque, unless invited by the pontiff to mount; while a strip of black velvet was suspended from one of the windows of the palace, which was called the sleeve of the Khalif, and all the officers of state were expected to kiss it daily, and prostrate themselves on the threshold of the palace gate.²

¹ Selden points out that the word Khalif appears in its literal sense as *vice* or *ἀντί* in the Syriac version of the Scriptures, where, in St. Matthew, Archelaus is said to reign instead of or in place of Herod. The Syriac has *Chealaph Herodes*.

² D'Herbelot.

In Egypt they were little more than puppets in the hands of the Mamluk princes, though their authority was always appealed to, on accessions or usurpations, and their court was surrounded with a certain amount of pomp and dignity. A very graphic account is given, in Makrizi's history, of the reception of the first of this line of Khalifs, by Daher Bibars, then ruler at Cairo. Intelligence reached him that the son of the Abbasside Khalif, Daher Abu Nasr Muhammad, was on his way to Damascus, under the escort of a body of Arabs. He was said to have escaped from Baghdad when it fell into the hands of the Moguls, and, having passed several years in obscurity among the Arabs of Irak, was now about to throw himself on the protection of Bibars. The Mamluk prince gave orders to the governors of all the towns to receive with the highest honour the descendant of the Prophet; but it became necessary to verify the strange narrative, and the suspicions regarding the validity of the claim were probably heightened by a fact, mentioned by Abulfeda, that this descendant of the Khalifs was *very black*. The Amirs, whom he consulted, assured him that the Arab chiefs who formed the escort were known and trustworthy, and so preparation was made for his reception. The cortège which accompanied him gathered in numbers as he proceeded; and when he reached Cairo, the whole town turned out to meet him. The Sultan advanced with his whole court, followed by all his forces, the principal inhabitants, and the Muezzins. Jews and Christians are said to have taken a part in the proceedings, bearing with them, the former the Pentateuch, and the latter the Gospels. The Khalif, clothed in the attire of the Abbassides, accompanied by the Sultan, entered Cairo by the gate called Bab annassar (gate of victory), and he was conducted to a palace prepared for him. A Court was afterwards held, when the Sultan sat by his side without any mark of dignity, and a long proceeding ensued for the purpose of verifying the truth of his descent from the old line; the proceedings were then embodied in a formal document by the Kadi al kadat. Whereupon the Sultan did homage to the Commander of the Faithful, engaging to follow the precepts of the Book of God

and every rule of good government; and his example was followed by the other dignitaries, and the Khalif, in gratitude, delivered to the Sultan an act of investiture, by which he conferred on him, not only the countries subject to Muhammadan rule, but all those that he could, with the aid of God, conquer from the unbelievers.¹

Notwithstanding these outward demonstrations of respect, the Khalifs in Egypt exercised no influence over the politics of the country. Their authority was appealed to, to sanction the military revolutions, of which Egypt was then frequently the scene, but which they did not control. A passage from Peter Martyr, (quoted by Selden), giving an account of the inauguration of a new Sultan, shows how completely the spiritual authority was kept in subjection to the temporal. The passage runs thus: "A summo eorum pontifice Mammetes (the Mamluk prince) confirmatur. Habent nempe et ipsi summum pontificem, ad quem hujus imperii machina, si Ægyptii homines essent, pertineret. Jus suum, ut cæteri consuevere, Mammeti Cairi regiam tenenti, trium millium auri drachmarum pretio pontifex vendidit. Is califfas dicitur. E tribunali, Soldano stanti pedibus, vitæ necisque liberam potestatem præstat. Ipse descendit, se ipsum spoliatur, Soldanum imperaturum induit, abit privatus, permanet in imperio Mammetes."

This title is so immediately connected with that of Commander of the Faithful, that I will proceed at once to the history of this latter appellation, which has been assumed to carry with it an imperial significance.

¹ Makrizi's History, Quatremère's translation, vol. i. p. 146. The Khalif subsequently delivered the Khotbeh at the Great Mosque, and pronounced a very long discourse, in which there was another conveyance of all the countries which the Sultan's arms could conquer. There is much more in detail of the fêtes and honours done to the new Pontiff, extending over many pages. His success encouraged a rival pretender to the dignity. The Khalif, after parting from the Sultan, proceeded under an escort in the direction of Aleppo, and encountered, on his way, this new claimant, who had an escort of 700 Turkoman cavaliers. The Khalif proposed terms, and invited him to act with him to raise the house of Abbas. The "pretender," as he is called, accepted the proposal, and received honourable treatment.

COMMANDER OF THE FAITHFUL.

This title, though not so well known to European historians, has been more widely spread and more durable than that of Khalif. Its origin is thus described by D'Herbelot. Omar, the second Khalif, when elected on the death of Abubekr, represented to the assembled chiefs the difficulty he would experience in styling himself the Vicar of the Vice, and that the difficulty would increase with each successor. Whereupon Mogairah, son of Shaab, addressed Omar thus : "My lord, you are our Amir. We are, by the grace of God, Al-Mumenin, the Faithful; receive the title, if it please you, of Amir al Mumenin." The proposal was well received, and it was ever after borne by those who assumed to be the successors of Muhammad, and it was the only title ever borne by them.

The title Amir, Commander, is commonly rendered imperator, and was borne by the generals of the armies of the faithful, and afterwards by those who ruled provinces under the real or nominal authority of the Khalifs, until it was superseded by that of Sultan. The Amir al Omra, Commander of the Commanders, was the usual designation of the chief minister of the Khalifs, and played an important part in their history, and has also been in use under Turkish and other Muhammadan governments. Like other sovereign titles, that of Amir is still in use, though it has long since ceased to be specially connected with rule or military command.

But the term Amir was, in early Muhammadan times, not confined to commanders of high rank. Makrizi, in his history of the Mamluk Sultans, speaks of the Arabs who came to the aid of one of these rulers against the Tartars, as under their Amirs, as if they were sheiks or chiefs; but in the Turkish armies of this period it was a title of command of a special grade, conferred by the Sultan himself. On one occasion, I observe, mention is made of an Amir of ten. De Joinville rightly understood the purport of the name, where he states : "Quand le Souldan estoit en personne en guerre combatant, celuy des chevaliers de la Haulcqua, qui mieux s'esprouvoit et faisoit des faiz d'armes, le Souldan le faisoit

Admiral, ou capitaine, ou bien lui bailloit et donnoit charge de gens d'armes, selon ce qu'il le meritoit; et que plus faisoit, plus lui donnoit le Souldan."

The *Haulqua*, or Halkah, (حلقة), or circle, was the body guard of the prince, which, under some sovereigns, became an army. Saladin is said to have had ten thousand under his direct command. They were purchased slaves, and, by force of circumstances, became a warrior caste, like the Janissaries, and are well known to history as the Mamluks of this period.

But my concern is chiefly with the Amirs of the Faithful. This title was retained by these ecclesiastical rulers long after they ceased to be warriors. It was not until the fifth century of the Hejra that it was borne by any other prince than the Khalif. Malik Shah, the third of the line of the Seljuk dynasty, had it conferred on him by the reigning Khalif, who, according to D'Herbelot, sent a special embassy to confirm him in the title and-power of Sultan, adding also this special dignity, hitherto reserved by the Khalifs to themselves. It had, indeed, been already applied to Mahmud of Ghazni, in the inscription on the minaret or pillar raised to his memory, of which I have given the translation in a former page, and on that, near Ghazni, raised to his successor Mas'ud.¹ Within a very few years of the date of the accession of Malik Shah, it was conferred on a prince of the Marabut dynasty in Western Africa, by the Moorish chiefs who had invited him to come to their aid in Spain. This prince, Yusuf ben Tashfin, defeated Alphonso VI. of Leon and Castile in a great battle near Badajoz. An Arabic writer, quoted by Makrizi in his treatise on Musalman coins, says that, after the battle, thirteen kings elected and proclaimed him, Amir of the Musalmans, and that he was the first of this race of rulers who bore the title.²

¹ See Thomas on the Coins of the Kings of Ghazni (Journ. R. A. S. Vol. XVII.). Further evidence of the assumption of the title by Mas'ud is given in the same essay, in a quotation by an Arabic writer. The act in which it appears was agreed to by this sovereign A. H. 423.

² Marsden, vol. i. pp. 348-9. Marsden quotes from De Sacy's translation of Makrizi: "Il se trouva près de lui treize rois qui l'éleurent et le proclamèrent Emir des Musulmans. C'est le premier des rois du Magreb qui ait porté ce titre." The title borne by the heads of governments in Spain and North Africa at this time was the old Arabic one of *Amir*, and it appears on the coinage of this

After this it came into more frequent use, especially with the rulers of North Africa. Selden gives instances of its use by these rulers, both on coins and letters, and refers to Scaliger, who had seen it in letters addressed by the Emperors (*sic*) of Fez and Morocco to the States of the Low Countries, and he adds that he himself had seen it, in their letters to Elizabeth and James.¹ He also mentions that the Sultans of Constantinople assumed the same title somewhat modified—*Padshah Musulmin*.

It is curious to find it applied to the reigning Khalif on a coin of Jengiz Khan. At no period of the career of this conqueror had he shown any respect for the Muhammadan religion. On the contrary, when he entered Bokhara, he is said to have ascended the reading desk of a mosque and thrown the Koran under the hoofs of his horses. He and his descendants were tolerant as to religious usages, and it is possible that this word may have been introduced into his coinage, from motives of policy, after his conquest of Kharizm and Khorasan. If so, he certainly failed to conciliate the believers. Abulfeda, describing the events of the year 616 of the Hejra (A.D. 1219), says that never did the Moslems undergo such trials from the Franks on the one hand, and from the Tatar irruption under Jengiz Khan, piously adding, "On whom be the curse of God!"²

sovereign, who is styled *Al Amir Yusuf ben Tashfin*. An extract from Abulfeda is given by Marsden, confirming the fact of the assumption of the title of the Khalifs. That on Yusuf's coins appears as *Amir il Mumenin*.

¹ Selden quotes a passage from Matthew of Paris to the effect that John of England sent a secret embassy to one of these potentates, offering to turn Muhammadan. The chronicler styles him "Admiralium Murmelium, quem vulgus miramomelinum vocat." The embassy may be apocryphal, but the chronicler may be quoted in proof of the recognition of the title at this period. The naval title Admiral is distinctly traced to this Arabic original. Selden points out that the monkish historians of the holy wars are full of these Admirables, Admiralli, and Ammiralli. De Joinville calls them Admiraulx, and speaks of the Admiraulx d'Egypte or Admiraulx de Babiloyne. So Milton compares Satan's spear to

"The mast

Of some great Ammiral."

Amirals or admirals were known to the Genoese in the twelfth century, and the office is mentioned in English history in the century following. The first English admiral was W. de Leybourne, who was appointed by Edward I. under the title *Admiral de la mer du Roi d'Angleterre*.

² The coin to which I refer is given in Mr. Thomas's Essay on the Coins of the Kings of Ghazni, Vol. IX. p. 385. The name which precedes the title is that of the Khalif then reigning at Baghdad—Nasir le din Illah.

The prestige of this great name long survived the decline of the power of the Khalifs. It had been usual in coinage to add the title of the reigning Khalif. Of this there are frequent instances on coins of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. After the fall of Baghdad, the Khalifs in Egypt, though little more than domestic chaplains of the warrior caste that ruled, were courted by distant potentates. The head of the rising Ottoman family applied to Egypt for a confirmation of a new title. Gibbon thus describes the event: "The humble title of Emir was no longer suitable to the Ottoman greatness, and Bajazet condescended to accept a patent of Sultan from the Caliphs who served in Egypt under the yoke of the Mamelukes, a last and frivolous homage, that was yielded by force of opinion, by the Turkish conquerors, to the house of Abbas and the successors of the Arabian prophet."¹

It is less surprising to hear of a weak Patan ruler at Dehli making a similar application to one of these dependent Khalifs. The passage describing it is quoted in full, from Ferishta, by Marsden, and it is so curious, as illustrative of the superstitious importance which was attached to the acts of the Khalifs, that I make no apology for inserting it here: "In the year 743 (says the historian) doubts arose in the mind of the Sultan regarding the legality of his title to the sovereignty of India, unsanctioned as it was by the consent of a Khalif of the house of Al-Abbâs. Whilst deliberating on the means by which this defect could be repaired, he obtained information that the rulers of Egypt had been induced, from certain considerations, to raise an individual of the race to the honours of the Khalifat. Having satisfied himself of this, he instantly did homage, in secret, to the exalted personage, whose name he ordered to be placed on the coinage instead of his own. He likewise prohibited throughout the city the public reading of the customary prayers on the weekly days of assembly and the festivals, and having employed two or three months in preparing a suitable address to the Khalif, at length despatched it to Egypt. In

¹ Cap. 64.

744 the messenger returned, and along with him came the Sa'id Sarsari, who was the bearer of a diploma from the Khalif, investing the Sultan with full possession of the government, together with a royal dress. On this occasion he advanced ten or twelve miles to meet the Sa'id (descendant of the Prophet), attended by the whole body of the nobles and men of the learned professions. After kissing the feet of the holy man, he placed the diploma of the Khalif on his own head, and marched with it several paces on foot. In honour of it he caused commemorative buildings to be erected in the city, and scattered money amongst the people. He directed that the public prayers, which had for a time been suspended, should be resumed on the appointed days, and the name of the Khalif should be pronounced in the Khutbeh; excluding therefrom the names of all the former Sultans of Dehli, even that of his own father, who had not reigned with the necessary sanction. On the embroidered borders of his robes and on the friezes of his buildings the Khalif's name was displayed. With his own hand he wrote an address, containing numberless expressions of humility and submissive homage, and having selected from the jewels of his treasury a precious gem of incomparable beauty, he gave it, together with the writing, in charge to the messenger, in order to their being delivered to the Khalif, in Egypt."

It is not surprising to see the head of an effete dynasty, that was soon to give way before the conquering arms of Timur and his descendants, seek for a religious sanction to his rule. It is more significant of the importance attached to the ancient headship of the empire that Timur himself was glad to avail himself of any link that connected him with the government established by the Prophet.

In the fifth book of the narrative which bears the name of his Memoirs, the events are described connected with his accession to the headship of the state. There were other claimants, and the question was referred to an assembly convened by Syud Abu'l Berkat (the father of blessings). It was proposed that a prince, descended from the great

Jengiz, should be placed on the throne, and Timur should be his deputy; but Abu'l Berkat appealed to those present, both as Turks and as Musalmans, to recognize the services already rendered by Timur, and added, that after the fall of the Khalifs, the inheritance of Muhammad and his claim of sovereignty fell to the descendants of the Prophet, of whom he was one, and so, in conjunction with the other Syuds, he pronounced the Amir Timur deputy of the Khalifs, and appointed him ruler over all the Musalmans in Turan. One of Timur's rivals insisted on the question being decided by lot; but the lot fell on Timur, "and they were all ashamed," so proceeds the narrative.

In the inauguration of the new rule, which followed, the Syuds took the lead, and when, on the Aïd of Ramzan, Timur went to the mosque, he was invited to commence the service. Timur hesitated to take the part of Imam; but one and all declared him to be the successor of the Khalifs, patron of their religion, guardian of the Holy Land, and protector of the servants of God.¹

This superstitious respect for the authority of the Khalifs continued to appear on coins of Indian sovereigns, both in Dehli and in Bengal.² Sometimes it went no further than to say that the coin was struck in the name of the Commander of the Faithful, with a prayer for the perpetuity of the Khalifat, omitting the name. But when all doubts were removed as to the extinction of the Khalifat, it came to be the practice to introduce the names of the immediate successors of the Prophet. In one instance, a coin of Shir Shah, a soldier of fortune, who drove Humayun from Hindustan and reigned for a time in Dehli, is said to have been struck by the authority (*i.e.* under the auspices) of

¹ Memoirs of Timur, translated by Major Stewart, pp. 135, 6.

² An exception to this general remark will be found in some of the coins of Kutb-ud din Mubarik Shah, who reigned in Dehli A.H. 716-720. This young man was a wretched voluptuary, and during his short reign exhibited no abilities or vigour. Ferishta offers an apology for recording his excesses. This special coinage was, probably, the result of some drunken freak. The prince is described on some of them as "the Supreme Imam, Khalifah of the God of heaven and earth." Thomas, Chronicles of the Pathán Kings of Dehli, pp. 179-182.

the Commander of the Faithful, *Ledin illah*, one of the Abbasside Khalifs of Baghdad, who died three centuries before this time.¹ But at this period the introduction of the names of the successors of Muhammad is to be understood merely as an expression of orthodoxy, *i.e.* the profession of the Sunnite faith of the reigning prince. A common formulary is to introduce their attributes, "By the truth of Abubekr and the justice of Omar, by the modesty of Othman and the knowledge of Aly."² The coins of the Mogul sovereigns of Hindustan are frequently said to be struck at the seat of the Khalifat—Agra or Shahjehanabad. In these later times, the title of Commander of the Faithful seems to have dropped out of use. Nothing probably contributed so powerfully to this as the great schism of the Muhammadans. While the Indian rulers paraded the symbols of the Sunnites, the Persian kings displayed those of the Shi'ah faith, setting forth the names or the distinguishing qualities of the twelve Imams. One sovereign is said to be the servant of the king of the age, another the dog of the Commander of the Faithful.³ In both cases the allusion is said to be to one of the Imams, whose special sanctity led him to be spoken of with these titles. But when this celebrated title came to be applied to saints of a distant age, we may assume that it had long since lost its imperial significance.

It cannot be said, however, to be extinct. In a recent revolution at Constantinople the question put to the Ulema was whether it was lawful to depose the Commander of the Faithful, under the circumstances detailed. According to the principles laid down by orthodox writers, the sovereignty of

¹ Marsden, vol. ii. p. 549. The expression is curious—

في عهد الامير الخليفة لدين الله

² Marsden, vol. ii. p. 641—

بصدق ابو بكر و عدل عمر بازم عثمان و علم علي

³ Marsden, vol. ii. pp. 463, 465. The expression on the first coin is

كتب الامير المومنين , بنده شاد ولايت

the true believers must be one, indivisible, and absolute. A dictum of the Prophet is quoted in support of this, that one scabbard cannot contain two swords. Legal authorities have accordingly pronounced against any division of the empire, and against the co-existence of two Khalifs. Such dogmas have been rendered null and void by the force of events, but powerful sovereigns have re-asserted the claim, and when the Ottoman family rose to power it was asserted wherever their arms could reach. A colourable title was obtained by the cession of the rights of the last of the Abbasside Khalifs, on the conquest of Egypt by Selim, at the beginning of the sixteenth century of our era. In the year following, Selim received the homage of the Sheriff of Mecca, who presented to him the keys of the Kaaba by the hands of his son. It is laid down by legal authorities that the true Khalif must be of Koreish blood, and this double cession on the part of members of the same family is relied upon as the foundation of the spiritual claim. Bolder authorities, quoted by D'Ohsson, rest the claim to allegiance on the law of conquest, but such doctrines are not peculiar to Muhamnadan lawyers.

The Empire so founded has combined the most perfect union of spiritual with temporal sway within its own dominions. According to legal phraseology, the title Sultan expresses the temporal, that of Imam, the spiritual sway of the head of the State, while that of Khalif indicates the union of the two. The latter title implies claims of rightful succession, but the career of the Khalifs presents some awkward facts, which render any such pretensions of no weight. Accordingly the true Khalifat is held, by the school whose authority is accepted by the Ottomans, to have lasted only thirty years. The title usually applied to the head of the State is that of Imam, implying only headship of the congregation, as no sacerdotal functions are exercised by the chief of the believers, beyond taking the lead in public worship; but, by an easy figure, it is applied to the headship of the Moslem world, and this supremacy has been widely recognized. When D'Ohsson wrote, it is said to have been

recognized by the Sunnis, of both Asia and Africa.¹ How tenaciously it was upheld appears from the events connected with the treaty of Kanardji, at the close of the war with Russia in 1774. One of the articles recognized the claim to civil independence of the Khan of the Crimea. This struck a blow at the spiritual claims of the Porte, and it is said that this affront to his dignity was felt more keenly than the loss of a province.²

The headship of the Ottoman sovereign over States which hold to the same doctrines has been not unfrequently recognized in very recent times; but it is difficult to pronounce how much there has been of political rather than religious motive in these transactions. It has been brought to my notice that application was made a few years since, through the British Government of Cape Colony, on behalf of the Malay settlers, for a Cadi of the true orthodox belief, and the application was graciously acceded to by the government of Constantinople. A more complete recognition of the supremacy of the Sultan has been recently offered by the chief of Kashgar. This soldier of fortune, who bore the title of Atalik Ghazi, has accepted from the Porte that of Amir which, according to Musalman tradition, expresses the relation between the Commander of the Faithful and a general of his armies. His nephew, Yakub Khan, proceeded to

¹ Tableau Général de l'Empire Ottoman. The work was published late in the eighteenth century. His account of the religious and civil jurisprudence is based on the Multeka ul Abhur, the principal work in repute throughout the empire.

² Article III. of the treaty provides for the complete independence of the Tatars of the Crimea in all civil matters, including the election of their Khans. The proviso relating to the spiritual supremacy of the Porte runs as follows: "Quant aux ceremonies de religion, comme les Tartares professent le même culte que les Musulmans ils se regleront à l'égard de sa hauteesse comme *Grand Calife du Mahometisme* selon les préceptes que leur prescrit leur loi, sans aucune préjudice néanmoins de la confirmation de leur liberté politique et civile."

The attempt to distinguish between civil and religious liberty presented difficulties that threatened a new rupture. The Porte refused to recognize Shahin Gerai, and release him from obedience in temporal matters, except on the condition that the Khan should acknowledge his spiritual supremacy. But as the Court of Constantinople insisted on appointing Mollas and Cadis, as heretofore, there seemed no prospect of an adjustment. The question was finally set at rest by the Convention of Ainarly-Cawak in 1779, under the mediation of the French Government. This act was, in fact, a confirmation of that of 1774, and prepared the way for the cession of the Crimea to Russia by Shahin Gerai in 1781, which was formally recognized by the Porte in 1784.

Constantinople for the purpose of establishing a closer relation between the governments, and, on his return, it was publicly announced at the festival of the A'ed Kurban (28th January, 1874) that the Sultan had assumed the protectorate of Kashgar. This took place while Sir Douglas Forsyth's mission was at the court, and some coins were struck at the time, specimens of which have been placed in my hands. They bear merely the name of the Sultan, Abdul Aziz, with the addition, "struck at the guarded or protected (المحمروسة) Kashgar." This does not involve more than a recognition of political superiority. The word which I have rendered protected appears frequently on coins of different Mogul families in Central Asia, and has been interpreted in the sense of "fortified" or "the fort." Fraehn renders it the (divinely) guarded (divinitus custodiendæ). The recognition of the Sultan's superiority is sufficiently indicated by the use of his name, without reference to this epithet.

SHAH OR PADSHAH.

I assume that the former word is a corruption of *Kshatriya*, or rather of the word which is used for King in the ancient inscriptions of Persia. D'Herbelot does indeed show that the word *Shah* bore several significations in the ancient Persian, such as pre-eminence—the cost of anything—King or Prince; but the change from the word *K'hshayathiya*,¹ the title applied to Darius, is not difficult, and is supported by the instances given by Sir H. Rawlinson of the change from the guttural of the first letter of this title to the *sh* of modern Persian, as in the case of *K'hshapa*, 'night,' to *Shub*.² We have also words apparently derived from the same root, connected with regal government, such as *K'hshatrapa*, Satrap, in the Behistun inscription, and *Akhasteranim* of the Book of Esther.³ I cannot doubt that the name

¹ This is the rendering of Sir H. Rawlinson. That of Burnouf is *Khchayo*, which brings us still nearer to the modern word.

² Journal R.A.S. Vol. X. p. 86.

³ Chap. viii. 10, 14, where the word is rendered "camels" in the Authorized Version. The author of the Speaker's Commentary on this book considers that Haug and Bertheau have shown clearly that the word is really an adjective and means "royal."

K'hshayarsha of the Cuneiform inscriptions which is rendered Xerxes, and the *Arthk'hshatra*, Artaxerxes, are of royal significance. The use of a title as a proper name is, we have seen, of frequent usage in later times.

We have the same title slightly modified in the Zend. Haug gives, among other points of resemblance between the legends of the Zendavesta and the Veda, the general agreement in the stories of *Yima Khshaéta* and *Yámá Raja*, and he concludes that *Khshaéta* is identical with *Raja*, King. The same author traces the proper name *Shaputra* (the Sapor of Roman historians), as it appears in the inscription at Hagiabad, to *Khshathraputhra*, as it would have sounded in ancient Persian.¹ We have not the means of tracing the changes which the ancient title underwent after the fall of the Achæmenides, for the Greek language prevailed, and no inscriptions in the vernacular Persian are extant during the reigns of the dynasty of the Arsacids. We derive very little light from Persian historians, the old records being a mass of fables. It is said, indeed, by an Arabic author on geography, who wrote in the tenth century, Abu Rihan, better known as Albiruni, that the Khárismanian records show that a family named *Shahiyah*, and supposed to be descended from Cyrus, reigned over that country from the time of the Achæmenians to the Muhammadan invasion, with the exception of a Scythic interregnum of ninety-two years.² The title Shah must have prevailed in Persia during this period, though we have no direct evidence as to the sovereigns to whom it was applied. It may be sufficient to point out that when Firdusi, who wrote in the tenth century of our era, gathered up the legends of his country in his great epic, the *Shah-nameh*, it was the ordinary designation of king in the language.

It seems strange that the Sassanians, who revived the ancient religion, and employed the vernacular language on their coins and inscriptions, should have preferred a title of Arabic or Chaldee origin, *Malkan Malka*, to the old Persian title; especially as the founder of the dynasty, Artaxerxes, bore

¹ Haug's Essays, pp. 45, 231.

² Rawlinson, Essays on Central Asia, p. 246.

a name compounded of it. We are indeed told by the author of the *Zeenut-ul-Tuarick*, quoted by Malcolm, that after one of his victories he was hailed in the field with the title of *Shahan Shah*.¹ Another prince of the same dynasty, Baharam the Third, also bore, according to D'Herbelot, the same high-sounding title; but it does not appear, from the inscriptions of princes of this period, to have superseded the Semitic title which they usually bore.

After the rise of the Muhammadan power, we have frequent instances of the use of Shah as a proper name, but not as a title of sovereignty, until comparatively modern times, when it was assumed by the sovereigns of the Sufi dynasty, who reigned from the close of the fifteenth century till the time of Nadir Shah, and it is the special title of the Kings of Persia at the present day. It was a favourite title or proper name, (it is difficult to distinguish between them), of the Turks of the house of Seljuk. As they entered on their career of conquest through Kharism, it seems probable that they accepted a title which was popular in this portion of their dominions. Several of the governors of that province, under the Seljuk princes, broke loose from their dominion. Among them we have one named *Soliman Shah*, and the peculiar combination of *Sultan Shah*, a title which was also borne by one of the Seljuk princes that reigned in Kerman. Among the several branches of the Seljuk princes, I find three bearing the name of *Arslan Shah* and three of *Malik Shah*, one of whom became governor of Khorassan, under his father, Sultan of Kharism.

In all these provinces the Persian language prevailed, and the title was evidently assumed as one of honour, long recognized in the country. When I add to these instances the fact that two of the sons of Timur bore the name of Shah, *Miran Shah*, and *Shah Rokh*,² and that nearly every member of a dynasty which ruled at Shiraz in the fourteenth

¹ Malcolm's History, vol. i. p. 91.

² This title, according to D'Herbelot, was given by Timur to his son because he received tidings of his birth while playing at chess, and the father had just made the move by which the king is checkmated by the Rook or Castle. The move in Persian is called Shah Rokh.

century bore this name,¹ it is apparent that the title, though not superseding that of Sultan, was very much in use, and conjoined with it in Persia and Central Asia, very much in the same way that Malik was employed in the west.

But, during this period of Turkish domination in Asia, Persian literature was highly cultivated at many of the courts of these princes.² Persian writers of genius gave a tone to the tastes and sentiments of their rulers, as did the Greeks to their Roman conquerors, and the old regal title of the subject race came gradually into use and finally superseded those of Arabic origin.

Similar remarks will apply to the Muhammadan rulers of India, where Persian became the language of literature and of business, and Persians were largely employed in offices of trust and power. The title Shah came early into use in India, and forms part of the names of many of the Patan sovereigns, and also of the Kings of the Deccan. It is used capriciously, like any other proper name, and always as the second term. In no case is it employed as the distinguishing title of a dynasty. That of Sultan always takes the first place in inscriptions. I take an example at random from Mr. Thomas's work on the coins of these rulers, that of the thirteenth in the list. It runs thus: "The Great Sultan, Rukn-din Ibrahim Shah, son of Firuz Shah."³ Even when the title Shahinshah is employed, it occupies a second place. Thus the inscription of Muhammad bin Sam, better known as

¹ Malcolm, vol. i. p. 447.

² Mr. Elphinstone, in his History of India, offers some excellent remarks on the characteristics of the Arab, Tatar, and Persian races, which I should be tempted to quote, were it not for their length. The Turks have displayed great military qualities, and by force of character have maintained their dominion over subject races for centuries, both in the East and West, but, unlike the Arabs, they have, as Mr. Elphinstone remarks, neither founded a religion nor introduced a literature; and so far from impressing their own stamp on others, they have universally melted into that of the nation among whom they settled. They have, however, availed themselves of the aptitude for business shown by the conquered races, whether Persians or Hindus. The talents and ingenuity of the Persians have enabled them, though depressed by despotic rulers, to make a figure in history out of proportion to their number, or the resources of their territory.— See Elphinstone's India, book v. cap. iii.

³ The Chronicles of the Pathán Kings of Dehli, p. 155.

السلطان الاعظم ركن الدنيا والدين ابراهيم شاد بن فيروز شاه

Mahmud Ghori, on the Kutb Minar at Dehli, runs: "The mighty Sultan, the great Shahinshah," etc.¹

Light is thrown on this subject from an unexpected quarter. The inscription on the Allahabad column, in honour of Samudra Gupta, one of a line of powerful sovereigns that reigned, in the north of India, during the first centuries of the Christian era, gives an account of the nations or princes from whom he received or claimed tribute. Among them were found the titles *Devaputra*, *Shahi*, and *Shahanshahi*. Mr. James Prinsep, in his paper on this inscription,² points out that the former title, "the heaven-descended king," is analogous to the well-known triple inscription of the Parthian kings, ΕΚΓΕΝΟΥΣ ΘΕΩΝ, or to that on the Sassanian coins, "offspring of the divine race of God." It has been recently pointed out by Mr. Thomas that the terms *Devaputra* and *Shahi* appear severally on the coins of Vasudeva, Raja of Mathura. We have thus evidence of the existence of these two forms as recognized titles in India, or beyond its limits, at the period of this sovereign's reign, which has been severally referred by writers to the second, the fourth, and the fifth centuries of our era; while the Indo-Bactrian coins, on which the title *Shahi* appears, form a link by which they may be traced to their source in Central Asia.

There is no trace of it on any known inscription from this time till the tenth century of our era. Mr. R. S. Poole,³ of the British Museum, has drawn my attention to a coin of the Buweyhee family, who ruled over Fars at the latter epoch, in which the title appears. The prince's titles run *Il Malik Shahan Shah Buhá ed Dowleh*. Somewhat later it appears

¹ Selden gives several instances of the use of Shah in the middle ages, and before the assumption of the title by the reigning family of Persia; but the old writers to whom he refers are chiefly Greek. *Malik Shah* becomes Μελιξῶ. In some instances it is applied to the ruler of a particular country, as Κερμασσα the King of Kerma, and Σεγασσα King of the Seganes. Selden says that the Persians call the Pope *Rumsha*. I suspect that Rum in this case is the *Rum* of the Seljuk monarchy. Selden points out that in the instances which he has come across it is applied to petty sovereigns or governors of provinces.

² Journal As. Soc. Bengal, vol. vi. p. 974.

³ Catalogue of Oriental Coins in the British Museum, vol. ii. pp. 213, 214. The coin of this prince's son is given by Mr. Stanley Lane Poole, in his paper on inedited Arabic coins, where the same title appears. Journal R.A.S. Vol. VII. p. 250.

in a title of honour conferred by the Khalif, and it may have been so in the above instance. Abulfeda, describing the reception by Malek el Adil of the embassy from the Khalif in the year 604 A.H., mentions that the envoy in conveying the diploma conferred on the prince the titles of *Shahinshah*, *Malik il Maluk*, and *Khalil Amir il Mumenin* (friend of the Commander of the Faithful). I find two other instances of its use in the same history. It appears in some complimentary verses, addressed to Fakr ud Dowleh (one of the Buweyhee family) as if it were a royal title; but in the other case it is used merely as a proper name. In recording the death of Ala-ed-din Ferukshah, he is said to be the son of Shahinshah, son of Ayub, Sahib of Balbek.

The old Persian title of king of kings had evidently lost its old significance long ere this, and we rarely find this form except buried under confused heaps of royal attributes.¹

These remarks on the title Shah form a necessary introduction to that of which it forms a component part, and which is more especially associated with imperial rule at Dehli and at Constantinople. The title Padshah is supposed to carry with it something of supreme or extended sway. The most probable etymology is from the *pati* ("powerful") of Sanskrit. Mr. Thomas and Mr. West both trace it to the *Patahshatari* of a Sassanian inscription.² It was probably the equivalent of "the Great King" of ancient titles. But it is surprising that so little trace should be found of its use in royal titles till it started into life as the special designation of these great dynasties. In the Gulistan it is used as the ordinary designation of King and the equivalent of Malik, and not implying any special pre-eminence. I may here remark that the manner in which the different titles representing royalty are employed in Persian literature is well exem-

¹ *Shahanshah* or *Shahinshah*, for the title is given in both forms, is not in the idiom of modern Persian, and various conjectures have been offered to me as to its origin. I suppose it to be merely an abridged form of the ancient title, as it was used in the time of Darius, by the reduction of the inflexion of the genitive plural *anam* to *an*. Nadir Shah, by a simple inversion of the words, converted it into the idiom of his own age, *Shah-i-Shahan*.—Marsden, vol. ii. p. 447.

² J.R.A.S. Vol. III. n.s. p. 273; and Vol. IV. n.s. p. 401.

plified in this work. Sadi followed the fashion of the day in the use of Arabic words and expressions, and sometimes one and sometimes another is employed, without any apparent reason for the change. The title of the first book, on the manner of Kings, is in the preface, *درسیرت پادشاهان*, while in the heading of the same chapter the word *ملوک* is substituted. The first apologue commences, "I have heard of a King (*Padshah*)."¹ A few lines on the same king is spoken of as *Malik*, and then we have *Padshah*, and, in the couplet further on, *Shah* alone. In a following apologue one of the Kings of Khorassan sees Sultan Mahmud in a dream. *Malik* is applied to the former, while Mahmud retains that which is associated with his name in history.

In the adulatory panegyric on his patron, the Atabek, in the preface, these different titles are jumbled together independent of all rules of linguistic origin. He is the *Padshah* of Islam, the great *Shahinshah*, *Khudawend* of the world, great *Atabek*, *Sultan* of land and sea, *Málik* of the necks of nations, *Múli* (Master) of the Kings of Arabia and Persia,¹ Great *Amir*, with many others.

I am unable to state at what period it was first used by the Sultans of Constantinople. When Selden wrote, its assumption by these sovereigns attracted attention from its novelty. He says: "The Grand Seignior hath instead of this, (the title of Caliph), in later times rather used the title of

¹ That is, *مولی ملوک العرب والعجم*. The first word of this title is familiar to us from its having been borne by the barbarian rulers of Morocco in recent times. *Muley* is prefixed to these names, but the title runs as above, *Muli Malúk*, or, as it is usually written, *Muley Moloch*. The full title quoted above is not uncommon, and may be found, for example, in the inscription of the titles of Musáud on the minaret near Ghazni. In the inflected form *Múlana*, our master, it forms the heading of the complimentary titles addressed to Abulfeda, and quoted by Reinaud in the preface to his geography, and is the term of respect commonly used in addressing learned persons, such as judges. It was the custom to address the Khalif in Egypt by this form. The fact is mentioned by William of Tyre, in his narrative of the events connected with an embassy to the Court at Cairo, in 1167 A.D., quoted by De Guignes (vol. ii. p. 195). The only instances of its appearance on coins of ruling princes that I have met with are given by Marsden. The first is on a coin of a Turkoman-Ortokite prince. It contains a curious jumble of titles, "Il-Ghazi, our master (*Múlana*), the just, wise *Málik*, *Kotb-ed-din*, *Malik al Omra*, *Shah of Diarbekr*." It is inferred from the use of the inflected form, implying a dedication, that it was struck by some vassal or prefect. The other instance occurs on a coin of the first King of Oudh, who had a great reputation for learning.—Marsden, vol. i. p. 119, and vol. ii. p. 698.

پادشاه مسلمان, *Padshah Musulmin*, that is, Great King or Emperor of the Musulmans, Padshah being in Turkish and Persian, a Great King or Emperor, whence they call the German Emperor *Urum Padshah*, or the Emperor of Rome, the French King, *Frank Padshah*. Another Great Mogor also in his title styles himself by the same name of Padshah." Selden mentions, further on, that he had, through Sir Thomas Roe, the advantage of seeing it on the seal of the Great Mogor, as he calls him. It was at this time the proper designation of the rulers of Dehli. Baber informs us that he assumed it after his first expedition to India. After recounting the events of an important year, he says, "Till this time the family of Timur Beg, even although on the throne, had never assumed any other title than that of Mirza. At this period I ordered that they should style me Padshah." The translator of the Memoirs points out that Baber had applied it to himself before this time, and indeed in the very opening of his Memoirs he says, "I became Padshah of Ferghana." In another passage I observe that the term is applied, in the sense of royal, to a garden in the neighbourhood of Cábul. It is called *Bagh-i-Padshahi*.

There was not a little ostentatious rivalry between these two great Courts, which led Jehangir, the grandson of Baber, to assume a high-sounding title, in order, as is said in his memoirs, to place himself on a level with the sovereigns of the Turkish empire of the West. "From my father's anointed lips," he says, "I never heard myself called by the name of Muhammad Selim, Baba being the paternal appellation by which he invariably addressed me, and perhaps I might have been contented to the last with the title of Sultan Selim; but to place myself on a par with the monarchs of Roum, and considering that universal conquest is the peculiar vocation of princes, I thought it incumbent on me to assume at my accession that of Jehangir Padshah, as a title which best suited my character."

The name of Selim, which Jehangir thought unfit for a reigning prince, was borne, however, by several princes of the line of Othman. The ostentation of the latter was shown

in their selection of titles and in their multiplication. To that of Padshah they are said to have attached such importance that they were very guarded in recognizing Christian princes of Europe by this title. D'Herbelot says: "Le Sultan des Turks est tellement jaloux de ce titre, qu'il ne communiquoit autrefois qu'au seul roi de France entre tous les rois Chrétiens. Mais depuis peu les rois d'Angleterre l'ont aussi obtenu de lui à force de présents. Car pour l'Empereur et pour le roi d'Espagne le Sultan ne leur donne que les titres de *Czar*, que signifie Roi en esclavon."

The Turks have been compelled to bend to the force of circumstances by other influences than that of money. In seeking the alliance of Western powers, they have been obliged, even in old times, to accept conditions of equality in styles of address. Selden mentions a treaty between Rodolph II. and the Grand Seignior Ahmed in the year 1606, to the effect that in all letters and instruments between them they should not be styled by any other additions than by the name of well-beloved father and son; the Emperor calling the Sultan his son, and the Sultan the Emperor, in regard of his years, his father; and that in the beginning of their letters they might both indifferently take upon them the name of Emperor. In later times the equality of the relations between the Ottoman sovereign and the Czar of Russia has been exhibited in the mutual recognition of the other by the title of Padshah. The first article of the treaty of peace between Russia and Turkey in 1829 runs thus: "Tout inimitié et tout differend qui ont subsisté jusqu'à présent entre les deux empires cesseront, à dater de ce jour, tant sur terre que sur mer, et il y aura à perpétuité paix amitié et bonne intelligence entre S.M. l'Empereur et *Padshah* de toutes les Russies et S.H. l'Empereur et *Padshah* des Ottomans, leurs héritiers et successeurs aux trônes, aussi qu'entre leurs empires."

I should add, in concluding my remarks on this title, that it has been exempt from the same courses of degradation which seem to belong to Oriental titles. It has never been employed as a proper name, nor has it, except in one in-

stance, been applied in modern times to any sovereigns but those of the highest rank, and who are usually styled Emperors by European writers. The exception is in the case of the Vizier of Oudh. When that prince was encouraged by Lord Hastings to assume a regal title, he took that of Padshah. His titles are given at length, as they appear in his correspondence, in Marsden's work, and are as follows:—His highness, our master (Múlana), Abu'l-zufur, Maz-uddin, Shah zaman, Ghazi-uddin Haider, Padshah Ghazi.¹

KHAN OR KHACAN.

The history of this title is not dissimilar to that of Malik or Shah. It has been the distinguishing title of the sovereigns of great monarchies, and afterwards degraded by its application to petty chiefs or princes, until it was used merely as a title of honour, or usurped as a proper name, and applied indiscriminately to high and low. The title became first known in Europe with the advance of the Turkish hordes, who penetrated to the Danube in the fifth century, and was borne by the chiefs of the Avars and of the Turks or Huns.² For the early history of these migrations we

¹ Marsden, vol. ii. p. 698—

حضرت مولانا ابوالظفر معز الدین شاد زمین غازی الدین حیدر
پادشاه غازی.

These titles are given, slightly varied, in Wilson's History of British India (vol. ii. p. 504). The assumption gave offence at the Court of Dehli, as the title assumed was identical with that hitherto borne by the Mogul princes only. It was accordingly changed to the more modest designation of Padshah of Oudh.

Since these pages were in type, I have met with another instance of the assumption of this title by a prince of inferior rank. During the events which led to the rise of Yakub Khan, as narrated by a member of the mission of Sir Douglas Forsyth, several chiefs appear to have risen to power in Eastern Turkistan, when the Chinese authority was shaken after the capture of Peking, and among others, an old man of sanctity, Abbibullah, headed the insurrection in Khoten, and assumed the government with the title of Khan Padshah. Had the Muhammadan dominion in India not been rudely cut short by British power, I do not doubt but that Padshahs would, ere long, have become as plentiful as Sultans or Khans.

² The Avars became known to the Roman Emperors after the fall of the dominion of Attila. I do not find any mention of any native titles borne by the chiefs of the first Tatar invaders of Europe. It is the conjecture of Prichard that Attila may have derived his name from *Atalik*, the Turkish word for guardian, and he supposes that Attila ruled as guardian of his nephew. It seems more

are chiefly dependent on the annals of China. The Turks, wherever they spread, adopted the religion, the manners, and the literature of the conquered races, and the attempts of native writers in after-times to trace their history are legendary and untrustworthy. It appears from the Chinese records that they were united in powerful monarchies on the north of China in the beginning of the second century before our era. The identity of the Huns, as known to Europe, with the Turks, is clearly made out by the labours of De Guignes¹ and Remusat. The head of the Government bore the title of *Tanjou* or *Chen-ju*, meaning, in the language of the Huns, the Son of Heaven.² The Government was divided under two great officers, each of whom, according to De Guignes, bore the title of King, that is, as he afterwards explains, the *Hien-vam* of the left and of the right, the former being the heir presumptive of the throne. The *Tanjou* held great diets at certain seasons, to which resorted all the great officers of state and captains of their forces; the object being, as is said, to perform sacrifices; but, in these vast camps were organized the military and predatory expeditions which rendered them so terrible to their Chinese neighbours. The policy of the latter resembled that which was afterwards pursued by the Emperors of Constantinople, but with greater success; they fomented dissensions, employed the arms of some of the Tatar princes in their service, and maintained an unequal struggle with their dangerous neighbours until the Empire of the Huns or Turks

probable to suppose that Attila, whose government was well established before he became terrible by his European conquests, assumed an European title, just as the Turkish conquerors who followed him borrowed the titles of their subjects. The work quoted by De Guignes says: "Il prenoit le titre de par la grace de Dieu, Roi des Huns, des Medes, des Goths, des Danois, la terreur de l'univers et le fleau de Dieu." The Byzantine writers of the time of Justinian give to the chief of the Avars the title of *Chagan*.

¹ I refer more particularly to an essay by De Guignes in the twenty-eighth volume of the *Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions*, where the subject is fully treated. They were known to the contemporary European writers by the name of Huns, while the orientals called them Turks. The powerful nation to the north of China bore the name of *Hiom-nou*. The *Tiou-kioue*, which we are told is the Chinese mode of spelling the name *Turk*, formed a branch of the former.

² The full title is *Tcem-li-ko-to-tan-jou*, of which the above is the abbreviation. This is explained variously as "the Son of Heaven," or, "la grande ressemblance du fils de ciel."—De Guignes, vol. i. p. 25.

broke up and spread over Tatar, or penetrated to Europe. After successive revolutions, a new and powerful State rose on its ruins, under the rule of a soldier of fortune named *Tou-lun*, whose kingdom became the most powerful in Tatar. This prince was, according to De Guignes, the first to assume the title of *Khan* or *Khacan*, and that only after arriving at the height of his fame. This was at the commencement of the fifth century of our era.¹

The first assumption of a title probably means no more than that it was under this prince it became, for the first time, connected with the rule of a great potentate. There seems reason to suppose that it was in use in far more ancient times. The Scythic version of the Behistun inscription, as interpreted by the late Dr. Norris, gives the word *Ko* as the equivalent of King, that is, the *Khshayathiya* of the Persian version. The title of Darius runs: *Ko irsarra, Ko Ko-fa-inna*, the Great King, King of Kings.² The decipherment proceeds on the supposition that the original inscription was written in a language akin to the Ugrian division of the Tatar or Mongolian language, and that this dialect was spoken by the nomad population under the Persian dominion. It will not, I trust, be considered far-fetched to suppose that in this word we have the origin of a title which in later times is associated with Tatar dominion. It is perhaps more to the purpose to point out that when the Tatar hordes came into conflict with the power of Rome, in the fifth and sixth centuries, nearly every chief bore the title of Khan or Khacan. The Turks especially, who had arrived at great power and great pretensions, were governed by a chief who took the title of the Great Khan, corresponding with that which was afterwards borne by the successors of Jengiz Khan, a title implying a ruler over subordinate chiefs or Khans. Gibbon dwells at some length on the relations between the Byzantine Emperor and the head of this government, and describes the state of the court of the Great Khan, which is somewhat vaguely described as being placed at the foot of

¹ De Guignes, vol. i. p. 337.

² Journ. R.A.S. Vol. XV.

the Altai range, and as maintained with a barbaric splendour similar to that of former dignitaries in the north of China. His pretensions may be gathered from the terms of the letter which he addressed to the Emperor Maurice, in which he styles himself lord of the seven races and of the seven climates.¹

In De Guignes's account of the revolutions of Tatar, from the fifth to the tenth century, the title of Khan is applied to all chiefs of hordes, and any prince who could bring a large number of these tribes under his rule became a Great Khan.² But when the Chinese government recovered its authority over a great part of Tatar, they disposed of the title of Khan at their pleasure. It was indeed conferred upon dignitaries or governors, whether subject to Chinese or Turkish power. When the ambassadors of Tiberius II. were sent to renew the former alliance with the Turkish government, they are said to have arrived at a place under the rule of a chief named Tourxanth, and it is the conjecture of De Guignes that this was no other than Tarkhan or Tourkhan, a title known to the Turkish governments.³ But there is no lack of evidence of the prevalence of the title in Tatar until the time when the Turkish power penetrated through Transoxiana into Khorassan and Western Asia. It seems the more surprising that, when these conquests were achieved, they dropped the ancient title of the sovereigns of these races. Whether it was that in the process of assimilation with the conquered races, and with a new religion and manners, they assumed the titles and prerogatives already

¹ Selden gives the heading of the letter from the Greek chronicler. It runs thus: *Τῷ βασιλεὶ των Ρωμαιων ο χαγανος ο μεγας δεσποτης επτα γενων και κυριος κλιματων της οικουμενης επτα.* The seven climates means the whole world. In Persian literature we have seven heavens, seven earths, seven planets, seven members of the body, seven styles of writing, and so on *ad infinitum*. Seven is a mystic number, and is used to classify the whole order of creation. Baber, at the opening of his Memoirs, says that the country of Ferghana is situated in the fifth climate, on the extreme border of the habitable world. The seventh climate is Hindustan. For an account of the seven climates I refer the reader to Es Mas'udi's Meadows of Gold, Sprenger's translation, p. 197.

² De Guignes, vol. i. p. 494.

³ The leader of the Bulgarians, when they became first known in Europe in the sixth century, was *Zabergan* (Gibbon, cap. xliii.). These invaders were certainly of Tatar origin.—De Guignes, vol. i. p. 395.

current in those countries ; or whether the title had already undergone degradation, by being applied to chiefs of small authority, the rising power thought it politic to drop a title, now too common, and the title itself became extinct as representing kingly power. In Fraehn's specimens of the coins of the Khans of Turkistan, belonging to the close of the tenth and beginning of the eleventh centuries, I find rare instances of the use of the title. The inscriptions are in Arabic, and have the usual Muhammadan symbols, and are said to have been struck, in nearly all the instances where the inscription is legible, by the order of the Amir Arslan, or other ruler, with occasional references to their devotion to the Commander of the Faithful. The titles Malik and Padshah also appear, and, where Khan or Khacan is brought in, it is generally additional or supplemental. For example, the sixth on the list runs: "Est ex iis (numis) quos (cudi) jussit Emirus. . . . Chakanus, quem Deus corroboret." There are, however, some instances where it takes the place of Amir, as in No. 55, where the coin is said to be struck by the order of the most illustrious Khan Kotb ed-dawla (البحان الاجل قطب الدولة) and some others. The title was evidently falling out of use. I find no trace of its use by the Seljuk monarchs, nor by the Atabegs or other princes of Turkish origin who preceded the irruption of the Moguls; nor have I met with any instance of its appearance as a royal title borne by any sovereign of the early Muhammadan dynasties of India, unless it be in the case of Musaud, the son of Mahmud, where the title Khacan appears among those set forth on the minaret near Ghazni.¹ As a title of honour it appears frequently in Indian history. In the description of the Indian Government, by a native of Damascus, in the thirteenth century, quoted in Elliot's *Historians*, which has been already referred to, the Khans are said to be highest in dignity, and they numbered more than eighty.

Instances are given in the same work of its being combined with epithets, in the same way as the title Malik was

¹ *Journal Asiatic Society of Bengal*, vol. xxii. pp. 77, 78.

used in Western Asia. As *Khan-i Azim*, a foundling, of Turki origin, who was brought up by the Sultan, and received from him in the first instance the title of *Tatar Malik*, which was afterwards exchanged for the higher dignity of *Tatar Khan*. We hear also of *Khan-i Jahan*, Khan of the World, and in Jehangir's Memoirs I find the titles *Khan Khanan* and *Khan-i Azim*. The practice of conferring this dignity continued during this reign, and is mentioned in the same Memoirs. But Khans multiplied fast in the times which succeeded, and, in the confusion which followed the breaking up of this empire, it was open to any one to assume it; until, latterly, it became so common that Colonel Yule puts it on a par with the title of Esquire in England. It is needless to trace its history further in this direction.

With the conquest of the Moguls in the thirteenth century the title Khan or Khacan came again into use in Southern Asia, and was borne by Jengiz Khan and by his descendants, as by his rivals. I do not pretend to offer a solution of the threefold form in which the name appears,—Khan, Khacan, and Kaan.¹ The two former appear in the Arabic inscriptions on the coins of Jengiz Khan, the last on that of his grandson Hulaku. In the specimens of the coins of this great barbarian conqueror given by Mr. Thomas, the inscription runs simply, “The Just, the Great Jengiz Khan,” or, “The Just, the Great Khacan.”² That of Hulaku has been given above. The title of Kublai is spelt the same way in Abulfaraj.³ The same form is applied by Marco Polo to “The Great Kaan,” a title which he says signifies “The Great Lord of Lords,” or “Emperor.”⁴ It has been supposed that these three forms have the same origin and meaning. The transition from the longer to the shorter form is an easy one, and as the title of Jengiz Khan is

¹ خان خاقان قان

² Chronicles of the Pathan Kings of Dehli, pp. 91, 92. *

العدل الاعظم جنكز خان عدل خاقان الاعظم.

³ قوبلاي قان.

⁴ Book ii. 1.

spelt, according to Remusat, *Kho-han*, it seems probable that *Khan* is a simple contraction of the longer forms. It is clear, however, that some special importance has always been attached to the title *Khacan*, and while *Khan* has long been used as a proper name, the other has been reserved for the titles of great sovereigns, and appears in those of India as well as of those of Constantinople. The wars, conquests, and extended dominions of the Moguls has given a great prestige to the title, but it has never superseded any of the current titles in Southern Asia. The members of the family of Jengiz Khan who established themselves in Persia and in *Kapchak*, fell back on the old title of *Sultan*, and the rulers of Constantinople are better known as *Sultan*, *Grand Seignior*, or the *Porte*, than by that which betokens their *Tatar* origin.

The title of *Great Khan* is chiefly connected with the fame of the great Empire in the far East, though it has been shown that the same title had been in use before the time of Jengiz Khan. The progress of the Moguls had proved more disastrous to the Muhammadans than to the Christians, and the latter turned hopefully to the East to cultivate the rising power. Embassies from the Pope, from Louis IX., and still more, the narrative of Marco Polo, brought to Europe reports of the power and grandeur of the *Great Khan*. The enthusiasm of the latter especially knows no bounds, when he comes to this part of his story. After describing the title of *Kublai*, which he translates "the *Great Lord of Lords*," he adds, "And of a surety he had good right to such a title, for all men know for a certain truth that he is the most potent man, as regards forces and lands and treasure, that existeth in the world, or ever hath existed from the time of our first father Adam until this day." In another passage, giving the genealogy of *Kublai*, he says that his power is greater than the five princes who reigned in succession from Jengiz. "Nay," he adds, "I will say more; for if you were to put together all the Christians of the world, with their Emperors and their Kings, the whole of these Christians—aye, and throw in the Saracens to boot—would

not have such power, or be able to do as much as this Cublai, who is the lord of all the Tartars in the world, those of the Levant and of the Ponent included, for they are all his liegemen and subjects." It is not surprising that some confusion should occasionally arise in the accounts received of this distant prince. Rubruquis, quoted by Selden, gives a different interpretation of the meaning of Khan from that of Polo: "*Can nomen dignitatis, quod idem est qui divinator. Omnes divinatores vocant Can. Unde principes dicuntur Can quia penes eos spectat regimen populi per divinationem.*" Selden adds: "Unless we should read *dominatores* and *dominationem*, he was deceived." Certainly Rubruquis was deceived in attributing the influence of these princes to the practice of the arts. Divination was practised, but by professional adepts. Marco Polo gives an account of these performances, by the desire of Jengiz, and before the great battle which was to decide the fate of Prester John. The diviners, who are said to have been Christians, commenced by splitting a cane; they are then said to have read a psalm from the Psalter, and to have gone through "other incantations," whereupon the cane which bore the name of Jengiz Khan advanced to the other and got on the top of it, thus foretelling the fate of Jengiz's rival.

By Byzantine and mediæval chroniclers we have the title variously *Cham*, *Chan*, *Chagan*, and *Carchan*, which latter Selden assumes to be *Cara Chan*, or Black Lord. There is also *Ζαμεργαν*¹ or *Χαγανος* of the times of Justinian and Maurice, but there is one rendering or translation of the name to which Selden thought it necessary to give a precise contradiction. Some traveller, whose experiences are recorded in Latin, styles the great chief "Magnum Canem." Selden gives an extract of a work by Mathew or Michow, "a Polonian," to the following effect:—

"Imperator eorum (Tartarorum) Ir-Tli-ki, linguâ ipsorum, hoc est, liber homo, dicitur. Dicitur et *Ulu Cham*, quod sonat magnus dominus, sive magnus imperator. *Ulu N. magnus*, *Cham*, vero Dominus et imperator est. Eundem

¹ This I assume to be the Zabergan of the Bulgarians.

aliqui Magnum Canem dixerunt, et male interpretati sunt, quia *Ulu Cham* non significat Magnum Canem; *Cham* etenim cum aspiratione dominum et imperatorem, et *Can* sine aspiratione, cruorem et numquam canem sermone Tartarorum significat."

Selden, in a note, says: "Imperator canis dicitur ubique Odorico in itinerario, et J. de Plano Carpini." The former work is in Hakluyt. The heading of a leading chapter runs "de Gloriâ Magni Canis."

With the decline of the power of the Moguls the title of Great Khan disappears from history. When the Manchus restored Tatar rule in China, they reigned as Sons of Heaven, and not as Khans. Though Timur took offence when the title was omitted in the letter he received from the Sultan of Egypt, and the title Khacan appears among the numerous titles heaped together in the Khutbeh, which I have quoted above, it is clear that he attached more value to that of Amir or Sultan than to the old Tatar title. On his coins containing the double inscription of the representative of the effete Mogul dynasty, Sultan Mahmud Khan, his own name appears simply as the Amir Timur Kur Kan or Gurghan. I have already said that it was not used in the styles of his descendants in India, notwithstanding their pride in their Mogul descent. The title however survived, and is still in use in Central Asia. It was preserved for some time by a family that claimed descent from Jengiz. But Russian progress has reduced the list of those who reign by this title, and it seems probable that ere long it will be extinct, except as a mere honorary or personal title, as is the case in India. It is significant of the decline of the title that the only two families which have risen to importance in Central Asia in recent times have restored the old title of Amir—the princes ruling in Bochara and in Cábul.

It remains only to add a few words on the use of this title by princes of the Ottoman line. Their origin is traced to one of the military chiefs of the army of a Sultan of Kharism, who contended for many years against the power of the Moguls. Gibbon, following the guidance of De

Guignes, who has treated the subject critically, supposes him to have been the chief of a Turkoman horde; but the traditions are obscure, and the name of the ancestor, Soliman Shah, does not sound like that of a Tatar chief. The names of his successors, Orthogrul and Thaman, or Othman, are supposed to be Turkish, and that of Orkhan (اورخان) is, certainly, of Tatar origin. This latter prince, who was the real founder of the Ottoman power, is said by Gibbon to have been content with the title of Amir. This is hardly borne out by the specimen which I have quoted from Selden, but it may be observed that Khan does not appear in that string of titles; and from the practice of the Ottoman princes applying, on their coinage, the title Khan to deceased sovereigns only, and not to those reigning, — a fact pointed out by Marsden, — we may infer that it was only regarded as a cognomen, and not as a royal title. After the conquest of Constantinople, the title Khacan came into use. The titles of Murad III. run: “Sultan of the two continents and Khacan of both seas, Sultan, son of a Sultan,”¹ a title borrowed from the Greek Emperors. That of Ahmad I. bears the same inscription, with the addition of “Sultan Ahmad, son of Muhammad Khan,”² marking a distinction between the two forms of this title.

HINDU TITLES.

I conclude this review with a brief reference to the titles in use in ancient India and by Hindu sovereigns. A distinction has been drawn between the regal title *Raja* and its compounded forms, *Maharaja* and *Adhiraja* (Great King or Supreme King), as if the latter were especially reserved to sovereigns of extended dominions, and ruling over tributary princes. The inscription of Chandragupta on the Buddhist Tope at Sanchi, combines the two forms in one title *Maharajádhiraja*, and Mr. James Prinsep, in his translation,

¹ السلطان البرين و خاقان البحرين السلطان بن السلطان.

² السلطان احمد بن محمد خان.

renders it "The Great Emperor."¹ Prof. Wilson, on the other hand, referring to one of the oldest bilingual coins of Bactria, regards the title Maharaja as carrying with it no more than the bare title king, in oriental phraseology.² We may, I think, assume that the compound form was originally employed to express higher rank or extended sway,³ like the title of "Great King" in Greek inscriptions; but it would not appear, from the examples I have been able to refer to, that any broad distinction was maintained between this title and the simpler form, as between emperor and king; while, in later times, they were synonymous. Mr. Thomas has, indeed, in his illustrations of the Gupta Surashtran coins, drawn a distinction between one of these compound forms, *Rajádhiraja*, and another employed by the same sovereign, with the superlative *Maha* prefixed, as if the latter carried with it something imperial. He remarks: "The intention of this titular discrimination, as I understand it, was to mark the relative grades of Kumara's dignity. I suppose the class of coins, of which No. 17 is the representative, to have constituted the currencies of the prince while acting as a viceroy on the part of his father in the kingdom of Guzerat. He was then a 'King over kings,' but not a 'Great King over kings,' as he became in later days, on his accession to his father's imperial throne, and the position of Lord Paramount of India."⁴

Such distinctions may have prevailed, in court language, at different times; but it would require further evidence to show that they were permanently or broadly established. On the other hand, I may point to the interesting records of Aśoka, the extent of whose dominions is traced by the remarkable inscriptions that have been deciphered in Cuttack,

¹ Journal Asiatic Society Bengal, vol. vi. p. 456.

² Wilson's *Ariana*, p. 242.

³ We find three different forms in the ancient literature. *Adhiraja* is rendered by Böhtlingk and Roth "überhaupt, herrscher über alle," and reference is made to the Rig-Veda x., and the Atharva-Veda vi., and also to the Nirukta. Instances are given, in the same dictionary, of the use of the title *Maharaja*. It is rendered "fürst, ein regierender Fürst, Landesherr," and we are referred for instances to the Aitareya Brahmana, Satapatha Brahmana, etc. The title *Raja* is the general appellation for king.

⁴ Burgess's Report on the Antiquities of Khatiawadh and Kachh, p. 61.

Guzerat, and beyond the Indus. This sovereign, in his edicts, was content with the simple designation, *Devanam piyo Piyadasa Raja*, "The King Piyadasa, Beloved of the Gods." These ancient inscriptions, the oldest probably extant, favour the supposition of the moderation in the styles in use in the most ancient times.¹

Maharaja and Adhiraja appear also on the Bactrian coins as the equivalent of *Βασιλεὺς μέγας* of the Greek kings, the successors of Alexander; and, in the same collection, we meet with a liberal use of epithets, also in imitation of the Greeks, as the pious, the unconquered, the preserver (*σωτήρ*). As an example of these swelling styles, I take that of Azes, who is supposed to have reigned in the first century B.C. It runs, *Maharajasa Rajádhirajasa Mahatasa Ayasa*, "Of the Great Aya, the Great King, the Great King of Kings."² Besides these combinations, we find the old style *Kshatrapa*, Satrap, in occasional use, and joined to that of king. In the translation of one of the oldest inscriptions of the Sah Kings of Surashtra, in Mr. Burgess's recently published Archæological Survey of Western India, the royal title is given, "King Kshaharatra Satrapa Mahapana." The legend, in Indian Pali, on a bilingual coin of the same dynasty, in Mr. Burgess's work, is *Rajna Mahakshatrapa*, clearly implying independent sovereignty. The Greek version is not given; but as the word Satrap does not appear in the ancient literature of India,³ it seems reasonable to infer that it was introduced from the West. Another title applied to a sovereign of the South of India might be supposed to carry with it

¹ Journal R.A.S., Vols. XII. and XVI.

² Wilson's Ariana.

³ In Böhtlingk and Roth's dictionary the word is dismissed with the remark "Auf Münzen" (on coins), with references to the *Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*. In the same dictionary the word *Kshattra* is rendered "Herrschaft, obergewalt, macht, imperium." It would be interesting to trace the history of this latter word, the derivative of which, *Kshatriya*, came to be the kingly appellation in Persia in the time of the Achæmenides, while that of Raja held its ground in India. Prof. Monier Williams, in his dictionary, offers the following remark on this subject: "KSHATRA, dominion, power, governing body, the members of which in the earliest times, as represented in the Vedic hymns, were generally called *Rajanya*, not *Kshatriya*; afterwards, when the difference between Brahman and Kshatra, or the priestly and civil orders, became more distinct, the reigning or military caste accepted the title Kshatriya."

something imperial, were there reason to suppose that it had acquired any extensive currency. In a grant quoted by Mr. Fergusson,¹ in his Essay on Indian Chronology, from the Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, the following passage occurs: "His son, Satyásraya, Lord of the Earth, and King of Kings, much devoted to war, and to whom all kings paid homage, gained by the defeat of *Sri Harshavardhan*, the name of *Paraméśvara*" (supremely powerful). The full title runs: *Satyásraya Sri Prithivi Vallabha, Maharaja Adhiraja Paraméśvara*. The latter appellation is a combination of epithets applied to the gods of the Hindu pantheon, and I give it, rather as a specimen of the adulatory style in use among Hindu sovereigns, than as betokening regal sway.

The examples I have given will be sufficient to illustrate the styles in use under Hindu sovereigns. They admit of very little variety or combination, and are, on the whole, more simple in character than those which have been employed in Western Asia. The titles Raja and Maharaja have held their ground, and are applied to sovereign rulers to the present day; but, like those in use among the Muhammdans, they have been rendered common by being used as titles of rank, and are now conferred as such by the British Government.

CONCLUSION.

In bringing to a close this sketch of the history of Royal and Imperial titles, I have no remarks to add beyond those which will naturally suggest themselves to the reader of these pages. Every title, with scarcely an exception, has shared in the vicissitudes of empires. They have risen or fallen with dynasties. Superstitious importance has attached to the use of some that have been associated with great families; and illustrations have been given of the nice distinctions which have prevailed as to the use of this or that title in particular countries. With this evidence before us of the ephemeral

¹ Journ. R.A.S. Vol. IV. n.s. p. 92.

character of such designations, it is to be regretted that we meet with so many instances in literature of the resort to fancied equivalents for Eastern titles in those of Europe. Eastern names and titles are now tolerably familiar to Western ears, and translators would do well to let the reader know the exact terms they find employed in the original works. Thus, many of these titles are familiar to us from our infancy. The Crusaders knew that they were contending with a "Sultan" in the person of Saladin, and this particular title has been, since that period, invariably associated with Turkish dynasties. The fame of the "Great Khan" has spread all over the world; and the title of "Commander of the Faithful" is well known to readers of the Arabian Nights. All that is necessary is to keep in mind the epoch and the circumstances under which a particular title is employed. We may, in popular language, apply the titles King and Emperor to Eastern sovereigns as denoting the independent or extended character of their rule; but, when the acts or edicts of these princes are referred to, we ought to know the nature of the title assumed, and the importance attached to it at the time.¹

It must not be supposed that, in the preceding remarks, I am offering any comment on the political incident which led me, in the first instance, to enter on this historical review. Since this paper was in the hands of the printer, it has been announced that our sovereign is to bear in India the title of *Kaisar-i Hind*; a solution of the controversy which has, I think, taken the world by surprise. We had been

¹ For example, some memorial verses, said to have been composed on the capture of Dehli by Timur, and quoted from the *Malfuzat-i-Timuri* in Sir H. Elliot's posthumous work, describe the conqueror as, "The *Emperor*, Sahib Kiran." It would be interesting to know the actual title applied to Timur at this period of his career. That of Sahib Kiran, lord of the (planetary) conjunctions, was constantly employed by him, and also by his descendants, and even by Nadir Shah. D'Herbelot says that Timur did not assume the title of Sultan till late in his career. The simplicity of his customary style has been already adverted to. The designation Gurgan, in which he took a pride, is said by Malcolm to have been a family name, meaning, I suppose, that it had been borne by some member or members of his family: for family names, in the European sense, are unknown to Muhammadans. D'Herbelot says it bears the signification of "Gendre et allié des rois." I find it on a coin of one of his descendants (Fraehn, p. 434).

led to infer, from the announcement of the Prime Minister, that no Asiatic designation or title would be employed, that the European title Empress would be used untranslated. The new designation steers clear of all controversy as to the employment of a title of Aryan or Semitic origin; and it is said to be one still recognized as imperial in the East. Of this I am no judge. I may, however, add, that the title Cæsar has undergone almost as many changes as some of those referred to in the preceding sketch.

From a family name it became a proper designation of the recognized successors to the imperial dignity. Latterly all the sons of the reigning prince were called Cæsars. After the creation by Alexius of the dignity of Sebastocrator, the title Cæsar became a bare title of honour, both being held inferior to that of Despot. For illustration I refer to Ducange, *Glossarium ad Scriptores mediæ et infimæ Græcitatæ*, under the title *Καῖσαρ*.

The importance of this title in public estimation survived the degradation it underwent; for it has, in modern history, been used as synonymous for Emperor, and the German Emperor is best known in popular language as the Kaiser. It is, indeed, contended by Goldastus, the author of a learned work on the Constitutions of the Empire, that it was not used by Charlemagne and his successors. Selden, however, gives an instance of its use in Charlemagne's time, in a document quoted by this author, and he contends that Cæsar was used in the German language and in that of Europe as the equivalent of Imperator. Of this he gives a curious illustration, taken from the correspondence between Elizabeth of England and the Grand Signior Amurath III., and also from a treaty between these sovereigns, where the terms Cæsar and Cæsarea Majestas are applied to the latter.

I may add, in further illustration, that the form of the oath, taken by Charles V. before his coronation at Bologna, as quoted by Selden, runs as follows: "Ego Carolus, Romanorum rex, et brevi, Dei gratia, *futurus Cæsar*, per Deum Divumque Petrum promitto," etc.

In Eastern literature the title is in frequent use as belong-

ing to the head of the Roman Empire, as in the passage quoted above from the *Malfuzat-i-Timuri*, or in the well-known lines—

The spider holds the veil in the palace of Cæsar,
The owl stands sentinel on the watch-tower of Afrasiab.¹

In Abul Farage's history of dynasties, the whole series of Roman Emperors, from Augustus to Heraclius, that is, till the rise of the Muhammadan power, figure as Cæsars. The only recorded instance which I have met with of its assumption by an Eastern sovereign is somewhat doubtful. D'Herbelot says, on the authority of a Persian historian, that Feridun, a prince of the first dynasty, portioned out his dominions among his sons before his death, and assigned to Salm, the eldest, his acquisitions in the West, with the title of Cæsar; the second received the territory occupied by Turks and Moguls, with the title of Faghfur; the youngest received Persia, Irak, etc., with the title of Shah. In another passage the dominions assigned to Salm are described as the country of Rûm. This may be taken as evidence of popular usage in the application of the title to the rulers of Asia Minor.

Gibbon says that Bayazid was styled by his cotemporaries, and even by Timur himself, *Kaisar of Rûm*, a title which he regards as foreshadowing the conquest of Constantinople;² but Rûm, in this case, as in the preceding, comprises a portion of Asia Minor and the adjoining countries, and is thus described by Arabian geographers.

These instances will suffice to show in what sense the title was used in the middle ages; they scarcely amount to a recognition of it as the equivalent for Emperor. If it has acquired the import, it must have been by modern usage.

As to the title of Emperor itself, I do not suppose it to have been ever well known in the East. When Abulfeda

پردہ داری میکند در قصر قیصر تنکبوت¹
بومی نونت میزند در کنبد افراسیاب

I have given Sir William Jones's translation in the text.

² Cap. 65.

gives an account of the embassy sent by the Mamluk prince, Malik il Daher Bibars, to the Emperor Frederick II., he gives him his proper title under the designation *Anberatur* (الانبراطور), which he explains as meaning, according to the Franks, Malik of Amirs (ملك الامرا).

With regard to the territorial designation *Hind*, it is open to the remark that it in no way represents the extent of British dominion, still less British authority. It may be of interest to add that it was used to measure the extent of the dominions of Mahmud, as they are defined in the lines of Firdousi, which proclaim him the Shah of Rûm and of Hind. In the dedication of his great work to his patron, he describes a great prince advancing in all the pomp and circumstance of war. He inquires of a bystander the name of the conqueror, and he receives for answer, "This is the Shah of Rûm and of Hind, extending from Kanauj to the shores of Sind"

يكي گفت اين شاد روم است و هند
ز قانوج تا پيش دريائي سند

And it is further added, "This is Mahmud, the Great Shah" (شاد بزوغت).

May the rule of the Kaisarin be more durable than that of the great Moslem conqueror!

POSTSCRIPT.

Since these pages were in type, some information has been communicated to me by Dr. Birch, of the British Museum, relating to the use of some of the imperial titles of Rome in Egypt, which are interesting in themselves, and oblige me to correct some of my remarks relating to the use of the titles, *dominus* and *δεσπότης*. I have assumed that they were interchangeable. It appears, however, that in the early Empire, *κύριος* was the usual equivalent of *dominus*. Eckhel, (*Doctrin. numor. veterum*), in tracing the history of these titles, carries them no further back, on coins, than the time of Antoninus Pius, when it appears on a coin struck at

Antioch, with the inscription ΑΥΤΟΚΡ. ΚΥΡ. ΑΝΤΩΝΕΙΝΟΣ. The same title afterwards appears on coins of M. Aurelius, struck in Mesopotamia, inscribed ΥΠΕΡ ΝΙΚΗΣ ΤΩΝ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΩΝ. Some other instances are given, confined to the Eastern provinces, and lastly, on coins of Gallienus struck at Alexandria. That it was commonly applied to the Emperor, in the East, appears from the expression of Festus regarding Paul, "of whom I have no certain thing to write to my lord," (τῷ κύριῳ). The title was superseded, as applied to the Emperor, by that of δεσπότης, owing, I suppose, to the former being the customary appellation of our Saviour; but it held its ground in certain public acts, and Selden mentions that it is applied to the Emperors in the imperial constitutions of Constantinople. In its corrupted forms, κῦρ and κῦρις, it occurs frequently. The title *primicerius*, used by the Saxon Kings of England, is derived from this source. A Frank Duke of Athens bore the title, (Πριμμικήριος), which is explained by Nicephorus Gregoras, as quoted by Ducange, μέγας ἐλέγετο κύριος.

Dr. Birch writes to me: "At Elephantine a number of potsherds have been found, officially dated in the reigns of the Roman Emperors, from Caligula to Septimius Severus. Caligula is called καῖσαρ only, without any other title. Nero, Vespasian, and Domitian are called κύριος, always accompanied by the article, as ὁ κύριος. Trajan used ἄριστος in addition to κύριος, and Domitian sometimes uses καῖσαρ ὁ κύριος, which is continued by his successors. This is the official title till the time of Septimius Severus, when the title αὐτοκράτωρ was first used by the tax-gatherers. This title was, however, placed on the imperial coins as early as Claudius at least."

In a subsequent memorandum, he adds, "The word δεσπότης does not appear in any official title till very late, long after the third century; but Hermapion translates (Ammian. Marcell. xvii. 4) one of the titles of Rameses on the obelisk by δεσπότης διαδήματος, the equivalent apparently of κύριος βασιλευῶν, which Ptolemy V. has on the Rosetta stone, an old Egyptian appellation prefixed to royal names, but never

used in the Demotic contracts and law-deeds of the period (Letronne, *Inscriptions Grecques de Rosette*, Paris, 1841, pp. 1, 7).

“The Egyptian form Autocrator occurs on the hieroglyphic monuments of Egypt as early as Augustus (Lepsius, *Königsbuch*, Taf. lxi. 729, D.), and is continued till Decius, (*Ibid.* lxvii. 753, D.); after which it is uncertain if any royal name is known. There is the following reason for supposing that the word Autocrator meant ‘King of Kings.’ Horapollo says, Book I. lxi. that the Egyptians represent king by a serpent surrounding a large house. Now the large house is found inside a cartouche at the Roman period, and Horapollo in the place cited says that it designates a *κοσμοκράτωρ*, or ‘King who rules the world.’ At the Roman period it is first seen after the name of Xerxes, and appears to be the equivalent of the title ‘King of Kings,’ attributed by the Greeks to the Persians, but given in the Persian cuneiform as ‘Great King.’”

ART. XIII.—*Affinities of the Dialects of the Chepang and Kusundah Tribes of Nipál with those of the Hill Tribes of Arracan.* By Capt. C. J. F. FORBES, F.R.G.S., M.A.S. Bengal, etc.

WHEN investigating the ethnological and linguistic characteristics of the various tribes of the Himalayan and sub-Himalayan regions, Mr. B. H. Hodgson was, especially, struck by finding lingual affinities which led him to connect certain broken and degraded tribes near the western boundary of Nipál with the vigorous and comparatively civilized Bhotiya races.

But an even closer connexion appears to exist between these tribes, the Chepangs, Vayus, and Kusunda, and the Hill tribes of Arracan, the Khyens, Kumis, Mrus, Sak, etc. Mr. Hodgson's remarks are worth considering in full:—

“Amid the dense forests of the Central region of Népal, to the westward of the great valley, dwell in scanty numbers, and nearly in a state of nature, two broken tribes, having no apparent affinity with the civilized races of the country, and seeming like the fragments of an earlier population.

“They toil not neither do they spin, they pay no taxes, acknowledge no allegiance. They have bows and arrows, of which the iron heads are procured from their neighbours, but almost no other implement of civilization.

“To afford a solution of the question of origin, I turned to the lingual test; and pursuing this branch of the inquiry, I found to my surprise, I confess, in the lusty Lhópas of Bhutan the unquestionable origin and stock of the far-removed and physically very differently characterized Chepangs.

“It should be noted in the first place that by how much the Chepangs are, and have long been, removed from Bhutan, by so much exactly do conformities of language demonstrate identity of origin, because those conformities cannot be explained by that necessary contact with neighbours to which the Chepang language owes of course such Hindi, Parabattia and Newar terms as the vocabulary exhibits; and in the second place we must recollect that though it be true that 300 miles of very inaccessible country divide the seat of the Chepangs from Bhutan, and, moreover, that no in-

tercourse therewith has been held by the Chepangs for time out of mind, still in those days, when tribes and nations were, so to speak, in their transitional state, it is well known that the tides of mankind flowed and ebbed with a force and intensity comparable to nothing in recent times, and capable of explaining far more extraordinary phenomena than the disruption of the Chepangs and their being hurried away, like one of the erratic boulders of geologists, far from the seat of the bulk of their race and people.”—J.A.S.B. 1857.

If the relative positions of the Chepangs, between the Kali and Gunduk rivers, in Nipál, and the tribes of the Arracan Yoma be compared, it will be seen how much more forcibly the above sentences apply to any resemblance that can be traced between *them*.

That casual resemblances of roots and words cannot be taken to prove identity of origin between different dialects, is now generally acknowledged; but it is no doubt desirable to know something of the grammatical structure of these languages, in order satisfactorily to compare them. In the case, however, of savage dialects, this last plan is often impossible; hence, we can only rely on the cumulative evidence afforded by comparison of vocabularies.

In the comparative tables given below, many words, of course, occur which are common to the Turanian dialects, such as eye, fire, road, etc.; but there seems to be a much closer connexion between the Chepang and Arracan Hill dialects, than Mr. Hodgson found between the former and the Tibetan Lhopa.

NUMERALS.

ENGLISH.	NEPAL.	ARRACAN.
1.	Ya-zho. ¹	Ha.
2.	Ni-zho.	Ni, pan-nhi.
3.	Sung-zho.	Thum, tum.
4.	Ploi-zho.	Lhi, ta-li.
5.	Pa-guang-jang.	Pang-gná.
6.	Kruk-zho.	Ta-ru.
7.	Chana-zho.	Thani, ra-nhit.
8.	Prap-zho.	Riyat.
9.	Takú-zho.	Ta-ku, ta-ko.
10.	Gyib-zho.	Si-su, há.

¹ Zho = “number,” the Chinese “sho.”

ENGLISH.	NEPAL.		ARRACAN.		REMARKS.
Arm.	Krût.	Che. ¹	Makuht,	Kh. ¹	¹ Che. = Chepang. Kh. = Khyen. Ka. = Kami. Ku. = Kumi. ² 'Ta' is the animal affix, see dog, mon- key, etc.
Arrow.	Lá, Sar, Vayu.	Che.	Lí, Sa, Mru.	Ka. ¹ Mru.	
Axe.	Warhé,	Che.	Ahé,	Kh.	
Bird.	Mo-wá, wá,	Che.	Ta-wá, ² Wá-si,	Mru, Ku. Sak.	
Blood.	Wi,	Che.	Wi,	Mru.	
Bow.	Lui,	Che.	A-li,	Kh.	
Child.	Cho,	Che.	So,	Kh.	
Dawn.	Wágo,	Che.	A-wá,	Kh.	
Dog.	Kwí, kúí,	Che.	Ta-kwi, U-i,	Mru. Kh, Ku.	
Egg.	Wá-kuu,	Che.	Wá-ti,	Sak.	
Eye.	Me-k, Mi-mi-k,	Vayu. Chè.	Me, A-mi,	Ku. Ka.	
Ear.	Ne, no, Ká-ná,	Che. Bhramu.	Ka-no,	Ku.	³ ku = head, mi = hair.
Fire.	Me, mi, Má-í,	Che. Bhramu.	Mi, Má-í,	Ku. Mru, Ka.	
Hair.	Mín,	Che.	Kú-mi, ³	Sak.	
Hand.	Kút-t,	Che.	Kuth, A-ku,	Kh. Ku.	
Hog.	Piák,	Che.	Ta-pák,	Mru.	⁴ Comp. Muh-tie, Karen literally breast-water.
Horn.	Róng,	Che.	A-rúng,	Sak.	
House.	Kyim,	Che.	Im, Kyin,	Kh. Sak.	
Insect.	Pling,	Che.	Pá-lin } ant, Mling }	Kh. Ku.	
Milk.	Gnú-tí, ⁴ gnu = breast, ti = water.	Che.	Sui-twi, sui = breast, ti = water.	Kh.	
Monkey.	Yúk,	Che.	Ta-yút,	Mru.	
Moon.	La-he,	Che.	Lá,	Ka.	
Name.	Ming,	Vayu.	Amin,	Ka, Ku.	
Night.	Yá,	Che.	Ayán,	Kh.	
Ox.	Shya,	Che.	Tsi-ya,	Mru.	
Road.	Lyam,	Che.	Lam,	Kh.	
Salt.	Se,	Che.	Tsi,	Kh.	
Stone.	Lún-phu,	Vayu.	Lún,	Kh.	
Tree.	Singphung,	Vayu.	Tsingdung,	Mru.	
Water.	Ti,	Che.	Túi,	Kh, Ku, etc.	Comp. ti, Karen.
To give.	Bui-sa, ⁵	Che.	Na-pu, Peí,	Ka. Ku.	⁵ 'sa' = infinitive sign.
„ go.	Láh'lá,	Vayu.	La,	Ka, Ku.	
„ hear.	Sái-sa, ⁵	Che.	Tháí,	Ka, Ku.	
„ laugh.	Nhi-sa, ⁵	Che.	Anwí, Manwhi,	Kh. Ka.	
„ sleep.	Im-sa, ⁵	Che.	I,	Ka.	
„ take.	Ip tu, Li-sa, ⁵	Vayu. Che.	Ip, Si, La,	Kh. Kh. Ka.	

There are, unquestionably, many doubtful points in the above series: thus Mr. Hodgson was not certain about 'as'

being the infinitive sign proper, though it would appear to be so. There seems, however, to be enough to justify our excluding all idea of chance, in the similarity between these languages, while there is still less possibility of the one having borrowed from the other.

Little is known of the structure of any of them; the pronominals and their possessives are very similar :—

	I.	THOU.	HE.
<i>Chep.</i>	Nga,	Nang,	U.
<i>Khyen.</i>	Kyi,	Nang,	Ni.
<i>Kumi.</i>	Kái,	Nang,	Hu.

Possessives.

	MINE.	THINE.	HIS.
<i>Chep.</i>	Ngá-ku,	Náng-ku,	U-ku.
<i>Khyen.</i>	Ki-ko,	Náng-ko,	Ni-ko.

The dialects of the Arracan Hill tracts belong to the same class as the Burmese, Karen, and various Nága tribes, whether we call that class Lohitic or Tibeto-Burman; and there seems every reason, if linguistic affinity and not locality governs the classification, to place the Chepang and its cognate dialects in the same class.

We might, conjecturally, account for this wide disruption by supposing that, at a time when these broken tribes of Nipál, and of their brethren, the Khyens, Kumis, etc., of Arracan, occupied the upper valley of the Brahmapootra, an irruption of the races now known as the Bhotiya and Burman, may have severed them in half, forcing one portion westward, along the Terai, to the present locality of the Chepangs, while the other was pressed south-eastward through Munipoor, into the inaccessible mountainous region forming the north of Arracan. It is a fact well known to our frontier officers that this pressure from tribes, some almost unknown, continues to this moment, driving, as this does, the Khyens, Kumis, and Shindoos on to the boundary of the British possessions, and affording (as might have been anticipated) a great motive cause of those raids, which are often ascribed to mere savage delight in bloodshed and rapine.

ART. XIV.—*Notes on Some Antiquities Found in a Mound near Damghan.* By A. H. SCHINDLER.

ABOUT a mile and a half from Damghan is a mound called Tepeh i-Hissár, in which, during last autumn, some human bones were found. The people thinking that there had been in ancient times a burial-place, began digging in different parts of the mound, and discovered some black earthenware pots together with silver and copper ornaments. As soon as Government heard of this, a person was ordered to excavate this mound; and, since then, a number of objects, with about seventy or eighty skeletons, have been brought to light. The objects are, most of them, in the Shah's Museum, but the skeletons have unfortunately been thrown away as useless. I visited the mound in March last, and again in September. At my first visit, I saw that most of the objects were damaged or destroyed by unskilful digging, and I recommended a water-course being led to the mound, so that the objects might be washed out. They followed my advice, and a number of earthenware vessels, ornaments, etc., have been got out intact.

The skeletons were found in all kinds of positions, sitting, standing, reclining, etc.; it seemed as if the place had been destroyed by an earthquake or a sudden fall of sand or earth.

One earthenware vessel, with a small spout, was found in the hands of a man and in his mouth: he had been probably crushed down by a great weight falling on to him while he was in the act of drinking. A great quantity of earthenware vessels of different shapes and sizes have been found. Most of the vessels are of a blackish clear-ringing clay, and are half baked. This kind of black clay is not now found

anywhere near Damghan. Many different articles, of which the following is a list, were found :

A silver weapon ; hammer one side, hatchet the other side.

A carved piece of Lapis Lazuli, supposed to have been the handle of a stick.

Some copper basins.

A sort of table with short legs, made of white marble.

Some pieces of marble which, when put together, formed the curved horn of a ram.

Some copper rings.

Many black and white beads of stone, with a small hole in the centre.

Some beads of carnelian.

Some arrow-heads of carnelian.

Many sharp pieces of flint.

Some silver and copper ornaments.

Many flat pieces of black earthenware, pierced with a number of differently-sized holes ; the pieces are all slightly curved, and were parts of some large basins or jars.

Some large pieces (two feet long) of a soft calcareous stone, slightly hollowed by having been rubbed upon ; the grinding stone of harder material, small and round, was found close by.

Many pieces of copper ore and pieces of scoriæ, proving the existence there of a smelting-house.

All these objects, together with the skeletons, were found some yards below the surface ; over this stratum, are signs of later habitations, with traces of charcoal and straw. The most interesting objects, however, were three seals (?), one of stone, two of a mixture of copper with another metal. Figs. 1, 2, 3, are exact copies of these seals : the characters on them, if letters at all, having a Mongolian or Scythic type. No. 1 represents two four-footed animals. The characters and animals are in relief.

The skulls found in the mound are smaller than the skulls

Fig. 1.



Fig. 2.



Fig. 3.



of the present Persians; ¹ they resemble the Mongolian type, the heads being greatly elongated behind, while the foreheads are very low and small. This mound was at first thought to have been part of Hecatompylos; but this seems unlikely; as the general absence of iron and of coins, together with the presence of stone weapons, seem to point to a period anterior to the existence of this Hecatompylos. The site of this city may, perhaps, be that of the old town of Kúmish, sixteen miles south of Damghan, where traces of aqueducts, constructed of huge square half-burnt bricks, and some mounds, known as Tepeh i-Surkh, still remain.

¹ This is the opinion of Dr. Tholozan, principal medical adviser to H.M. the Shah.

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